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OF THE

LAWS

OF

ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY.

BOOK V.

Concerning their fourth Aſſertion, That touching ſeveral public Duties of Chriſtian Religion, there is amongſt us much Superſtition retained in them; and concerning perſons, which for performance of thoſe Duties are endued with the power of Eccleſiaſtical Order, our Laws and proceedings acccrding thereunto, are many ways herein alſo corrupted.

The Matter contained in this Fifth Book.

1. *True Religion is the root of all true virtues, and the ſtay of all well-ordered commonwealths.*
   The moſt extreme oppoſite to true Religion, is affected
   -ſtition, and the root thereof, either miſguided
   zeal, rant fear of divine glory.

THE WORKS

OF THAT

LEARNED AND JUDICIOUS DIVINE

MR. RICHARD HOOKER,

CONTAINING

EIGHT BOOKS OF THE LAWS

OF

ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY,

AND

SEVERAL OTHER TREATISES;

WITH AN INDEX TO THE WHOLE.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED

THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR BY ISAAC WALTON.

A NEW EDITION.

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VOLUME THE SECOND.

BOOK V.

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5. *Four general propoſitions demanding that which may reaſonably be granted, concerning matters of outward form in the exerciſe of true Religion. And fifthly, Of a rule not ſafe nor reaſonable in theſe caſes.*

6. *The firſt propoſition touching judgments, what things are convenient in the outward public ordering of Church affairs.*

7. *The ſecond propoſition.*

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77. *Of power given unto men, to execute that heavenly office, of the gift of the Holy Ghoſt in Ordination; and whether conveniently the power of order may be ſought or ſued for.*

78. *Of degrees whereby the power of order is diſtinguiſhed, and concerning the attire of Miniſters.*

79. *Of Oblations, Foundations, Endowments, Tithes, all intended for perpetuity of Religion; which purpoſe being chiefly fulfilled by the Clergy's certain and ſufficient maintenance, muſt needs by alienation of Church-livings be made fruſtrate.*

80. *Of Ordination lawful without title, and without any popular election precedent, but in no caſe without regard*

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regard of due information what their quality is that enter into holy orders.

81. *Of the learning that ſhould be in Miniſters, their reſidence, and the number of their livings.*

True Religion is the root of all true virtues, and the ſtay of all well ordered commonweals.

FEW there are of ſo weak capacity but public evils they eaſily eſpy; fewer ſo patient, as not to complain when the grievous inconveniences thereof work ſenſible ſmart. Howbeit, to ſee wherein the harm which they feel conſiſteth, the ſeeds from which it ſprang, and the method of curing it, belongeth to a ſkill, the ſtudy whereof is ſo full of toil and the practice ſo beſet with difficulties, that wary and reſpective men had rather ſeek quietly their own, and wiſh that the world may go well, ſo it be not long of them, than with pain and hazard make themſelves adviſers for the common good. We which thought it at the very firſt a ſign of cold affection towards the Church of God, to prefer private eaſe before the labour of appeaſing public diſturbance, muſt now of neceſſity refer events to the gracious Providence of Almighty God, and, in diſcharge of our duty towards him, proceed with the plain and unpartial defence of a common cauſe. Wherein our endeavour is, not ſo much to overthrow them with whom we contend, as to yield them juſt and reaſonable cauſes of thoſe things, which, for want of due conſideration heretofore, they miſconceived, accuſing Laws for men's overſights, imputing evils grown through perſonal defects unto that which is not evil, framing unto ſome ſores unwholeſome plaiſters, and applying other ſome where no ſore is. To make therefore our beginning that which to both parts is moſt acceptable, we agree, that pure and unſtained Religion ought to be the

highest

highest of all cares appertaining to public Regiment, as well in regard of that aid and protection which they who faithfully serve God confess they receive at his merciful hands, as also for the force which Religion hath to qualify all sorts of men, and to make them in public affairs the more serviceable [a]; governors the apter to rule with conscience; inferiors for conscience-sake the willinger to obey. It is no peculiar conceit, but a matter of sound consequence, that all duties are by so much the better performed, by how much the men are more religious from whose abilities the same proceed. For if [b] the course of politic affairs cannot in any good sort go forward without fit instruments, and that which fitteth them be their virtues, let Polity acknowledge itself indebted to Religion; godliness being the [c] chiefest top and well-spring of all true virtues, even as God is of all good things. So natural is the union of Religion with Justice, that we may boldly deem there is neither, where both are not. For how should they be unfeignedly just, whom Religion doth not cause to be such; or they religious, which are not found such by the proof of their just actions? If they which employ their labour and travail about the public administration of Justice, follow it only as a trade, with unquenchable and unconscionable thirst of gain, being not in heart persuaded that [d] Justice is God's own work, and themselves his agents in this business, the sentence of Right God's own verdict, and themselves his

Ps. cxliv. 2.

[a] C. Th. lib. xvi. tit. 2. Gaudere et gloriari ex fide semper volumus, scientes magis religionibus quam officiis et labore corporis vel sudore nostram rempublicam contineri.

[b] Ἔστι δ' ἄθλον ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς δυνατὸν πρᾶξαι ἄνευ τοῦ καλόν τινα εἶναι, λέγω δὲ οἷον σπουδαῖον. Τὸ δὲ σπουδαῖον εἶναί ἐστι τὸ τὰς ἀρετὰς ἔχειν. Arist. Magn. Moral. lib. i. cap. 1.

[c] Ἀρχὴ δ' ἀρετὴ πάντων τῶν ὄντων Θεός, ἀρετῶν δ' εὐσέβεια. Philo. de Dec. Precept. Ed. Par. p. 513.

[d] 2 Chron. xix 6, 7. Ἀγαπητὸν μὲν γὰρ ἡ ἐνὶ μόνῳ, καλὸν δὲ καὶ [illegible] καὶ πόλεσιν. Arist. Ethic. lib. i. cap. 2. Eccles. xvii. 14. Wisd. vi. 3.

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prieſts to deliver it; formalities of Juſtice do but ſerve to ſmother Right, and that which was neceſſarily ordained for the common good is through ſhameful abuſe made the cauſe of common miſery. The ſame piety, which maketh them that are in authority deſirous to pleaſe and reſemble God by Juſtice, inflameth, every way, men of action with zeal to do good (as far as their place will permit) unto all: for that, they know, is moſt noble and divine. Whereby if no natural or caſual inability croſs their deſires, they always delighting to inure themſelves with actions more beneficial to others, cannot but gather great experience, and through experience the more wiſdom; becauſe conſcience, and the fear of ſwerving from that which is right, maketh them diligent obſervers of circumſtances, the looſe regard whereof is the nurſe of vulgar folly, no leſs than Solomon's attention thereunto, was of natural furtherances the moſt effectual to make him eminent above others. For he gave good heed, and pierced every thing to the very ground, and by that means became the author of many parables. Concerning Fortitude, ſith evils great and unexpected (the true touchſtone of conſtant minds) do cauſe oftentimes even them to think of divine power with fearfulleſt ſuſpicions, which have been otherwiſe the moſt ſecure deſpiſers thereof; how ſhould we look for any conſtant reſolution of mind in ſuch caſes, ſaving only where unfeigned affection to God-ward hath bred the moſt aſſured confidence to be aſſiſted by his hand? For proof whereof, let but the acts of the ancient Jews be indifferently weighed, from whoſe magnanimity, in cauſes of moſt extreme hazard, thoſe ſtrange and unwonted reſolutions have grown, which, for all circumſtances, no people under the roof of Heaven did ever hitherto match. And that which did always animate them was their mere Religion. Without which, if ſo be it were poſſible, that all other ornaments of mind might be had in their

their full perfection, nevertheleſs the mind that ſhould poſſeſs them, divorced from piety, could be but a ſpectacle of commiſeration; even as that body is, which, adorned with ſundry other admirable beauties, wanted eye-ſight, the chiefeſt grace that Nature hath in that kind to beſtow. They which commend ſo much the felicity of that innocent world, wherein it is ſaid that men of their own accord did embrace fidelity and honeſty, not for fear of the magiſtrate, or becauſe revenge was before their eyes, if at any time they ſhould do otherwiſe, but that which held the people in awe was the ſhame of ill-doing, the love of equity, and right itſelf, a bar againſt all oppreſſions which greatneſs of power cauſeth; they which deſcribe unto us any ſuch eſtate of happineſs amongſt men, though they ſpeak not of Religion, do notwithſtanding declare that which is in truth her only working. For if Religion did poſſeſs ſincerely and ſufficiently the hearts of all men, there would need no other reſtraint from evil. This doth not only give life and perfection to all endeavours wherewith it concurreth; but what event ſoever enſues, it breedeth, if not joy and gladneſs always, yet always patience, ſatisfaction, and reaſonable contentment of mind. Whereupon it hath been ſet down as an axiom of good experience, that all things religiouſly taken in hand are proſperouſly ended; becauſe, whether men in the end have that which Religion did allow them to deſire, or that which it teacheth them contentedly to ſuffer, they are in neither event unfortunate[a]. But leſt any man ſhould here conceive, that it greatly ſkilleth not of what ſort our Religion be, inaſmuch as Heathens, Turks, and Infidels, impute to Religion a great part of the ſame effects which ourſelves aſcribe

Pſal. i. 3.

[a] ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἔμφρονα πᾶσας οἰόμεθα τὰς τύχας ὑπομένειν φέρειν, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αἰεὶ τὰ κάλλιστα πράττειν. Ariſt. Ethic. lib. 1. cap. 10.

hereunto,

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hereunto, they having ours in the ſame deteſtation that we theirs; it ſhall be requiſite to obſerve well, how far forth there may be agreement in the effects of different Religions. Firſt, by the bitter ſtriſe which riſeth oftentimes from ſmall differences in this behalf, and is by ſo much always greater as the matter is of more importance; we ſee a general agreement in the ſecret opinion of men, that every man ought to embrace the Religion which is true, and to ſhun, as hurtful, whatſoever diſſenteth from it, but that moſt, which doth fartheſt diſſent. The generality of which perſuaſion argueth, that God hath imprinted it by Nature, to the end it might be a ſpur to our induſtry in ſearching and maintaining that Religion, from which as to ſwerve in the leaſt points is error, ſo the capital enemies thereof God hateth as his deadly foes, aliens, and, without repentance, children of endleſs perdition. Such, therefore, touching man's immortal ſtate after this life, are not likely to reap benefit by their Religion, but to look for the clean contrary, in regard to ſo important contrariety between it and the true Religion. Nevertheleſs, in as much as the errors of the moſt ſeduced this way have been mixed with ſome truths, we are not to marvel, that although the one did turn to their endleſs woe and confuſion, yet the other had many notable effects, as touching the affairs of this preſent life. There were in theſe quarters of the world, ſixteen hundred years ago, certain ſpeculative men whoſe authority diſpoſed the whole Religion of thoſe times. By their means it became a received opinion that the ſouls of men departing this life do flit out of one body into ſome other. Which opinion, though falſe, yet entwined with a true, that the ſouls of men do never periſh, abated the fear of death in them which were ſo reſolved, and gave them courage unto all adventures. The Romans had a vain ſuperſtitious cuſtom, in moſt of their enterpriſes, to conjecture beforehand of the event by certain tokens which they noted in birds, or

Cæſ. de Bell. Gall. lib. vi. cap. 13.

in

in the entrails of beaſts, or by other the like frivo- BOOK
lous divinations. From whence notwithſtanding as V.
oft as they could receive any ſign which they took to be favourable, it gave them ſuch hope, as if their gods had made them more than half a promiſe of proſperous ſucceſs. Which many times was the greateſt cauſe that they did prevail, eſpecially being men, of their own natural inclination, hopeful and ſtrongly conceited, whatſoever they took in hand. But could their fond ſuperſtition have furthered ſo great attempts without the mixture of a true perſuaſion concerning the unreſiſtible force of divine power? Upon the wilful violation of oaths, execrable blaſphemy, and like contempts, offered by deriders of Religion, even unto falſe gods, fearful tokens of divine revenge have been known to follow. Which occurrents the devouter ſort did take for manifeſt arguments, that the gods whom they worſhipped were of power to reward ſuch as ſought unto them, and would plague thoſe that feared them not. In this they erred. For (as the Wiſe Man rightly noteth concerning ſuch) it Wiſd. xiv. was not the power of them by whom they ſware, but 31. the vengeance of them that ſinned, which puniſhed the offences of the ungodly. It was their hurt untruly to attribute ſo great power unto falſe gods. Yet the right conceit which they had, that to perjury vengeance is due, was not without good effect as touching the courſe of their lives, who feared the wilful violation of oaths in that reſpect. And whereas we read ſo many of them ſo much commended, ſome for their mild and merciful diſpoſition, ſome for their virtuous ſeverity, ſome for integrity of life, all theſe were the fruits of true and infallible principles delivered unto us in the Word of God, as the axioms of our Religion, which being imprinted by the God of Nature in their hearts alſo, and taking better root in ſome than in moſt others, grew, though not from, yet with and amidſt the heaps of manifold repugnant errors; which errors

of

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of corrupt Religion had alſo their ſuitable effects in the lives of the ſelf-ſame parties. Without all controverſy, the purer and perfecter our Religion is, the worthier effects it hath in them who ſtedfaſtly and ſincerely embrace it, in others not. They that love the Religion which they profeſs, may have failed in choice, but yet they are ſure to reap what benefit the ſame is able to afford; whereas the beſt and ſoundeſt profeſſed by them that bear it not the like affection yieldeth them, retaining it in that ſort, no benefit. David was a *man after God's own heart*, ſo termed becauſe his affection was hearty towards God. Beholding the like diſpoſition in them which lived under him, it was his prayer to Almighty God, *O keep this for ever in the purpoſe and thoughts of the heart of this people*. But when, after that David had ended his days in peace, they who ſucceeded him in place, for the moſt part followed him not in quality; when their kings (ſome few excepted) to better their worldly eſtate (as they thought) left their own and their people's ghoſtly condition uncared for, by woful experience they both did learn, that to forſake the true God of heaven, is to fall into all ſuch evils upon the face of the earth, as men either deſtitute of grace divine may commit, or unprotected from above, endure. Seeing therefore it doth thus appear that the ſafety of all eſtates dependeth upon Religion; that Religion unfeignedly loved perfecteth men's abilities unto all kinds of virtuous ſervices in the commonwealth; that men's deſire in general is to hold no Religion but the true; and that whatſoever good effects do grow out of their Religion, who embrace inſtead of the true a falſe, the roots thereof are certain ſparks of the light of truth intermingled with the darkneſs of error, becauſe no Religion can wholly and only conſiſt of untruths; we have reaſon to think, that all true virtues are to honour true Religion as their parent, and all well ordered commonweals to love her as their chiefeſt ſtay.

1 Chr. xxix. 17, 18.

2. They

The moſt extreme oppoſite to true Religion, is affected Atheiſm.

2. They of whom God is altogether unapprehended are but few in number, and for groſſneſs of wit ſuch, that they hardly and ſcarcely ſeem to hold the place of human being. Theſe we ſhould judge to be of all others moſt miſerable, but that a wretcheder ſort there are on whom, whereas Nature has beſtowed riper capacity, their evil diſpoſition ſeriouſly goeth about therewith to apprehend God as being not God. Whereby it cometh to paſs, that of theſe two ſorts of men, both godleſs, the one having utterly no knowledge of God, the other ſtudy how to perſuade themſelves that there is no ſuch thing to be known. The [a] fountain and well-ſpring of which impiety, is a reſolved purpoſe of mind to reap in this world what ſenſual profit or pleaſure ſoever the world yieldeth, and not to be barred from any whatſoever means available thereunto. And that this is the very radical cauſe of their Atheiſm no man (I think) will doubt, which conſidereth what pains they take to deſtroy their principal ſpurs and motives unto all virtue, the Creation of the World, the Providence of God, the Reſurrection of the Dead, the Joys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and the endleſs Pains of the Wicked, yea, above all things, the Authority of the Scripture, becauſe on theſe points it evermore beateth, and the Soul's Immortality, which granted, draweth eaſily after it the reſt as a voluntary train. Is it not wonderful, that baſe deſires ſhould ſo extinguiſh in men the ſenſe of their own excellency, as to make them willing that their ſouls ſhould be like to the ſouls of beaſts, mortal and corruptible with their bodies? Till ſome admirable or unuſual accident happen (as it hath in ſome) to work the beginning of a better alteration in their minds, diſputation about the knowledge of God with ſuch kind of perſons

[a] Wiſd. ii. 21. Such things they imagine and go aſtray, becauſe their own wickedneſs hath blinded them. Ἔστι γὰρ ἡ κακία φθαρτικὴ ἀρχῆς. Ariſt. Eth. lib. vi. cap. 5.

commonly

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commonly prevaileth little. For how ſhould the brightneſs of wiſdom ſhine, where the windows of the ſoul are of very ſet purpoſe cloſed [a]? True Religion hath many things in it, the only mention whereof galleth and troubleth their minds. Being therefore loth that enquiry into ſuch matters ſhould breed a perſuaſion in the end contrary unto that they embrace, it is their endeavour to baniſh, as much as in them lieth, quite and clean from their cogitation whatſoever may ſound that way. But it cometh many times to paſs (which is their torment) that the thing they ſhun doth follow them, truth, as it were, even obtruding itſelf into their knowledge, and not permitting them to be ſo ignorant as they would be. Whereupon, in as much as the nature of man is unwilling to continue doing that wherein it ſhall always condemn itſelf, they continuing ſtill obſtinate to follow the courſe which they have begun, are driven to deviſe all the ſhifts that wit can invent for the ſmothering of this light, all that may, but with any the leaſt ſhew of poſſibility, ſtay their minds from thinking that true, which they heartily wiſh were falſe, but cannot think it ſo without ſome ſcruple and fear of the contrary [b]. Now becauſe that judicious learning, for which we commend moſt worthily the ancient ſages of the world, doth not in this caſe ſerve the turn, theſe trenchermates (for ſuch the moſt of them be) frame to themſelves a way more pleaſant; a new method they have of turning things that are ſerious into mockery, an art of contradiction by way of ſcorn, a learning wherewith we were long ſithence forewarned that the miſerable time whereunto we are fallen ſhould abound. This they ſtudy, this they practiſe, this they grace with a wanton ſuperfluity of wit, too

2 Pet. iii. 3. Jude, ver. 18.

[a] Suſan. ver. 9. They turned away their mind, and caſt down their eyes that they might not ſee heaven, nor remember juſt judgments.

[b] Hæc eſt ſummæ delicti, nolle agnoſcere quem ignorare non poſſis. Cypr. de Idol. Vanit. Tract. III. p. 15. Ed. Oxon.

much

much inſulting over the patience of more virtuouſly diſpoſed minds. For towards theſe ſo forlorn creatures we are (it muſt be confeſſed) too patient. In zeal to the glory of God, Babylon hath exceeded Sion. We want that decree of Nebuchodonoſor; the fury of this wicked brood hath the reins too much at liberty; their tongues walk at large; the ſpit-venom of their poiſoned hearts breaketh out to the annoyance of others; what their untamed luſt ſuggeſteth, the ſame their licentious mouths do every where ſet abroach. With our contentions their irreligious humour is alſo much ſtrengthened. Nothing pleaſeth them better than theſe manifold oppoſitions upon the matter of Religion, as well for that they have hereby the more opportunity to learn on one ſide how another may be oppugned, and ſo to weaken the credit of all unto themſelves; as alſo becauſe by this hot purſuit of lower controverſies among men profeſſing Religion, and agreeing in the principal foundations thereof, they conceive hope that about the higher principles themſelves time will cauſe altercation to grow. For which purpoſe, when they ſee occaſion, they ſtick not ſometime, in other men's perſons, yea, ſometime without any vizard at all, directly to try what the moſt religious are able to ſay in defence of the higheſt points whereupon all Religion dependeth. Now for the moſt part it ſo falleth out, touching things which generally are received, that although in themſelves they be moſt certain, yet becauſe men preſume them granted of all, we are hardlieſt able to bring ſuch proof of their certainty as may ſatisfy gainſayers, when ſuddenly and beſides expectation they require the ſame at our hands. Which impreparation and unreadineſs when they find in us, they turn it to ſoothing up of themſelves in that curſed fancy, whereby they would fain believe that the hearty devotion of ſuch as indeed fear God, is nothing elſe but a kind of harmleſs error, bred and confirmed in them by the ſleights of wiſer men. For a politic

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Dan. iii. 29.

uſe

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uſe of Religion they ſee there is, and by it they would alſo gather that Religion itſelf is a mere politic device, forged purpoſely to ſerve for that uſe. Men fearing God are thereby a great deal more effectually, than by poſitive Laws, reſtrained from doing evil; in as much as thoſe Laws have no farther power than over our outward actions only, whereas unto men's [a] inward cogitations, unto the privy intents and motions of their hearts, Religion ſerveth for a bridle. What more ſavage, wild, and cruel than man, if he ſee himſelf able either by fraud to over-reach, or by power to over-bear the Laws whereunto he ſhould be ſubject? Wherefore in ſo great boldneſs to offend, it behoveth that the world ſhould be held in awe, not by a vain ſurmiſe, but a true apprehenſion of ſomewhat, which no man may think himſelf able to withſtand. This is the politic uſe of Religion. In which reſpect there are, of theſe wiſe malignants, ſome who have vouchſafed it their marvellous favourable countenance and ſpeech, very gravely affirming, That Religion honoured, addeth greatneſs, and contemned, bringeth ruin unto Commonweals; that Princes and States which will continue, are above all things to uphold the reverend regard of Religion, and to provide for the ſame by all means in the making of their Laws. But when they ſhould define what means are beſt for that purpoſe, behold, they extol the wiſdom of Paganiſm; they give it out as a myſtical precept of great importance, that Princes and ſuch as are under them in moſt authority and credit with the people, ſhould take all occaſions of rare events, and from what cauſe ſoever the ſame do proceed, yet wreſt them to the ſtrengthening of their Religion, and not make it nice for ſo good a purpoſe to

Mach. Diſc. l. i. c. 11, 12, 13, 14.

[a] Vos ſcelera admiſſa punitis, apud nos et cogitare peccare eſt; vos conſcios timetis, nos etiam conſcientiam ſolam, ſine quâ eſſe non poſſumus. Minu. Fel. in Octav. Summum præſidium regni eſt juſtitia ob apertos tumultus, et religio ob occultos. Carda. de Sapien. lib. iii.

uſe

uſe, if need be, plain forgeries. Thus while they ſtudy to bring to paſs that Religion may ſeem but a matter made, they loſe themſelves in the very maze of their own diſcourſes, as if Reaſon did even purpoſely forſake them, who of purpoſe forſake God the author thereof. For ſurely, a ſtrange kind of madneſs it is, that thoſe men, who though they be void of piety, yet, becauſe they have wit, cannot chooſe but know that treachery, guile, and deceit, are things which may for a while, but do not uſe long to go uneſpied, ſhould teach that the greateſt honour to a ſtate is perpetuity; and grant that alterations in the ſervice of God, for that they impair the credit of Religion, are therefore perilous in commonweals, which have no continuance longer than Religion hath all reverence done unto it; and withal acknowledge (for ſo they do) that when people began to eſpy the falſehood of oracles, whereupon all Gentiliſm was built, their hearts were utterly averted from it; and notwithſtanding counſel princes in ſober earneſt, for the ſtrengthening of their ſtates, to maintain Religion, and for the maintenance of Religion, not to make choice of that which is true, but to authorize that they make choice of by thoſe falſe and fraudulent means which in the end muſt needs overthrow it. Such are the counſels of men godleſs, when they would ſhew themſelves politic deviſers, able to create God in man by art. BOOK V.

3. Wherefore to let go this execrable crew, and to come to extremities on the contrary hand; two affections there are, the forces whereof, as they bear the greater or leſſer ſway in man's heart, frame accordingly the ſtamp and character of his Religion, the one zeal, the other fear. Zeal, unleſs it be rightly guided, when it endeavoureth moſt buſily to pleaſe God, forceth upon him thoſe unſeaſonable offices which pleaſe him not. For which cauſe, if they who this way ſwerve be compared with ſuch ſincere, ſound, and diſcreet, as Abraham was in matter Of Superſtition, and the root thereof, either miſguided zeal, or ignorant fear of divine glory.

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of Religion; the ſervice of the one is like unto flattery; the other, like the faithful ſedulity of friendſhip. Zeal, except it be ordered aright when it bendeth itſelf unto conflict with all things either in deed, or but imagined to be oppoſite unto Religion, uſeth the razor many times with ſuch eagerneſs, that the very life of Religion itſelf is thereby hazarded; through hatred of tares the corn in the field of God is plucked up. So that zeal needeth both ways a ſober guide. Fear, on the other ſide, if it have not the light of true underſtanding concerning God, wherewith to be moderated, breedeth likewiſe ſuperſtition. It is therefore dangerous, that in things divine we ſhould work too much upon the ſpur either of zeal or fear. Fear is a good ſolicitor to devotion. Howbeit, ſith fear in this kind doth grow from an apprehenſion of Deity endued with irreſiſtible power to hurt, and is of affections (anger excepted) the unapteſt to admit any conference with Reaſon; for which cauſe the Wiſe Man doth ſay of fear, that it is a betrayer of the forces of reaſonable underſtanding; therefore, except men know beforehand what manner of ſervice pleaſeth God, while they are fearful they try all things which fancy offereth. Many there are who never think on God but when they are in extremity of fear; and then becauſe, what to think, or what to do, they are uncertain, perplexity not ſuffering them to be idle, they think and do, as it were, in a phrenſy, they know not what. Superſtition neither knoweth the right kind, nor obſerveth the due meaſure of actions belonging to the ſervice of God, but is always joined with a wrong opinion touching things divine. Superſtition is, when things are either abhorred or obſerved with a zealous or fearful, but erroneous relation to God. By means whereof, the ſuperſtitious do ſometimes ſerve, though the true God, yet with needleſs offices, and defraud him of duties neceſſary; ſometime load others than him with ſuch honours as properly are his. The one, their over-

2 Chron. xx. 7. Abraham thy friend.

Wiſd. xvii. 11.

ſight

ſight who miſs in the choice of that wherewith they are affected; the other, theirs who fail in the election of him towards whom they ſhew their devotion: this, the crime of Idolatry; that, the fault of voluntary either niceneſs or ſuperfluity in Religion. The Chriſtian world itſelf being divided into two grand parts, it appeareth by the general view of both, that with matter of hereſy the Weſt hath been often and much troubled; but the Eaſt part never quiet till the deluge of miſery, wherein now they are, overwhelmed them. The chiefeſt cauſe whereof doth ſeem to have lien in the reſtleſs wits of the Grecians, evermore proud of their own curious and ſubtile inventions; which when at any time they had contrived, the great facility of their language ſerved them readily to make all things fair and plauſible to men's underſtanding. Thoſe grand heretical impieties therefore, which moſt highly and immediately touched God and the glorious Trinity, were all in a manner the monſters of the Eaſt. The Weſt bred fewer a great deal, and thoſe commonly of a lower nature, ſuch as more nearly and directly concerned rather men than God; the Latins being always to capital hereſies leſs inclined, yet unto groſs ſuperſtition more: ſuperſtition, ſuch as that of the Phariſees was, by whom divine things indeed were leſs, becauſe other things were more divinely eſteemed of than Reaſon would. The ſuperſtition that riſeth voluntarily, and by degrees, which are hardly diſcerned, mingling itſelf with the Rites even of very divine ſervice done to the only true God, muſt be conſidered of as a creeping and encroaching evil; an evil, the firſt beginnings whereof are commonly harmleſs, ſo that it proveth only then to be an evil, when ſome farther accident doth grow unto it, or itſelf come unto farther growth. For in the Church of God, ſometimes it cometh to paſs, as in over-battle grounds, the fertile diſpoſition whereof is good; yet becauſe it exceedeth due proportion, it bringeth forth abundantly,

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Mark vii. 9.

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through too much rankneſs, things leſs profitable; whereby that which principally it ſhould yield being either prevented in place, or defrauded of nouriſhment, faileth. This (if ſo large a diſcourſe were neceſſary) might be exemplified even by heaps of Rites and Cuſtoms, now ſuperſtitious in the greateſt part of the Chriſtian world; which in their firſt original beginnings, when the ſtrength of virtuous, devout, or charitable affection bloomed them, no man could juſtly have condemned as evil.

Of the redreſs of ſuperſtition in God's Church, and concerning the queſtion of this Book.

4. But howſoever ſuperſtition doth grow; that wherein unſounder times have done amiſs, the better ages enſuing muſt rectify as they may. I now come therefore to thoſe accuſations brought againſt us by pretenders of reformation. The firſt in the rank whereof is ſuch, that if ſo be the Church of England did at this day therewith as juſtly deſerve to be touched, as they in this cauſe have imagined it doth, rather would I exhort all ſorts to ſeek pardon even with tears at the hands of God, than meditate words of defence for our doings, to the end that men might think favourably of them. For as the caſe of this world, eſpecially now, doth ſtand, what other ſtay or ſuccour have we to lean unto, ſaving the teſtimony of our conſcience and the comfort we take in this, that we ſerve the living God (as near as our wits can reach unto the knowledge thereof) even according to his own will, and do therefore truſt that his mercy ſhall be our ſafeguard againſt thoſe enraged powers abroad, which principally in that reſpect are become our enemies? But ſith no man can do ill with a good conſcience, the conſolation which we herein ſeem to find is but a mere deceitful pleaſing of ourſelves in error, which at the length muſt needs turn to our greater grief, if that which we do to pleaſe God moſt, be for the manifold defects thereof offenſive unto him. For ſo it is judged, our prayers, our ſacraments, our faſts, our times and places of public meeting together for the worſhip and ſervice

vice of God; our marriages, our burials, our functions, elections, and ordinations eccleſiaſtical, almoſt whatſoever we do in the exerciſe of our Religion according to Laws for that purpoſe eſtabliſhed, all things are ſome way or other thought faulty, all things are ſtained with ſuperſtition. Now, although, it may be, the wiſer ſort of men are not greatly moved hereat, conſidering how ſubject the very beſt things have been always unto cavil, when wits poſſeſſed either with diſdain or diſlike thereof have ſet them up as their mark to ſhoot at; ſafe notwithſtanding it were not therefore to neglect the danger which from hence may grow, and that eſpecially in regard of them, who deſiring to ſerve God as they ought, but being not ſo ſkilful as in every point to unwind themſelves where the ſnares of gloſing ſpeech do lie to entangle them, are in mind not a little troubled, when they hear ſo bitter invectives againſt that which this Church hath taught them to reverence as holy, to approve as lawful, and to obſerve as behoveful for the exerciſe of Chriſtian duty. It ſeemeth therefore, at leaſt for their ſakes, very meet, that ſuch as blame us in this behalf be directly anſwered, and they which follow us, informed plainly in the reaſons of that we do. On both ſides, the end intended between us is to have Laws and Ordinances, ſuch as may rightly ſerve to aboliſh ſuperſtition, and to eſtabliſh the ſervice of God with all things thereunto appertaining in ſome perfect form. There is an inward reaſonable, and there is a ſolemn outward ſerviceable worſhip belonging unto God. Of the former kind are all manner of virtuous duties, that each man in reaſon and conſcience to God-ward oweth. Solemn and ſerviceable worſhip we name, for diſtinction ſake, whatſoever belongeth to the Church or public ſociety of God by way of external adoration. It is the latter of theſe two, whereupon our preſent queſtion groweth. Again, this latter being ordered partly, and as touching principal matters, by none but precepts divine only; partly, and as

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concerning things of inferior regard, by Ordinances as well human as divine, about the ſubſtance of Religion, wherein God's only Law muſt be kept, there is here no controverſy. The crime now intended againſt us is, that our Laws have not ordered thoſe inferior things as behoveth, and that our cuſtoms are either ſuperſtitious or otherwiſe amiſs, whether we reſpect the exerciſe of public duties in Religion, or the functions of perſons authorized thereunto.

Four general propoſitions demanding that which may reaſonably be granted concerning matters of outward form in the exerciſe of true Religion. And fifthly, of a rule not ſafe nor reaſonable in theſe caſes.

5. It is with teachers of mathematical ſciences uſual, for us in this preſent queſtion neceſſary, to lay down firſt certain reaſonable demands, which in moſt particulars following are to ſerve as principles whereby to work, and therefore muſt be beforehand conſidered. The men whom we labour to inform in the truth, perceive that ſo to proceed is requiſite. For to this end they alſo propoſe, touching cuſtoms and rites indifferent, their general axioms, ſome of them ſubject unto juſt exceptions, and, as we think, more meet by them to be farther conſidered than aſſented unto by us. As that, *In outward things belonging to the ſervice of God, reformed Churches ought by all means to ſhun conformity with the Church of Rome*; that, *The firſt reformed ſhould be a pattern whereunto all that come after ought to conform themſelves*; that, *Sound Religion may not uſe the things, which being not commanded of God have been either deviſed or abuſed unto ſuperſtition.* Theſe and the reſt of the ſame conſort we have in the book going before examined. Other Canons they allege, and rules not unworthy of approbation; as, *That in all ſuch things the glory of God, and the edification or ghoſtly good of his people, muſt be ſought; that nothing ſhould be undecently or unorderly done.* But foraſmuch as all the difficulty is, in diſcerning what things do glorify God and edify his Church, what not; when we ſhould think them decent and fit, when otherwiſe: becauſe theſe rules being too general, come not near enough unto the matter which we have in hand; and the former principles being nearer the purpoſe, are too far

far from truth; we muſt propoſe unto all men certain petitions incident, and very material in cauſes of this nature, ſuch as no man of moderate judgment hath cauſe to think unjuſt or unreaſonable. BOOK V.

6. The firſt thing therefore which is of force to cauſe approbation with good conſcience towards ſuch Cuſtoms or Rites as publickly are eſtabliſhed, is, when there ariſeth from the due conſideration of thoſe Cuſtoms and Rites in themſelves apparent reaſon, although not always to prove them better than any other that might poſſibly be deviſed, (for who did ever require this in man's ordinances?) yet competent to ſhew their conveniency and fitneſs, in regard of the uſe for which they ſhould ſerve. Now touching the nature of religious ſervices, and the manner of their due performance, thus much generally we know to be moſt clear; that whereas the greatneſs and dignity of all manner of actions is meaſured by the worthineſs of the ſubject from which they proceed, and of the object whereabout they are converſant, we muſt of neceſſity in both reſpects acknowledge that this preſent world afforded not any thing comparable unto the public duties of Religion. For if the beſt things have the perfecteſt and beſt operations; it will follow, that ſeeing man is the worthieſt creature upon earth, and every ſociety of men more worthy than any man, and of ſocieties that moſt excellent which we call the Church; there can be in this world no work performed equal to the exerciſe of true Religion, the proper operation of the Church of God. Again, foraſmuch as Religion worketh upon him who in majeſty and power is infinite, as we ought we account not of it, unleſs we eſteem it even according to that very height of excellency which our hearts conceive, when divine ſublimity itſelf is rightly conſidered. In the powers and faculties of our ſouls God requireth the uttermoſt which our unfeigned affection towards him is able to yield; ſo that if we

The firſt propoſition touching judgments, what things are convenient in the outward public ordering of Church affairs.

John iv. 24.

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affect him not far above and before all things, our Religion hath not that inward perfection which it ſhould have, neither do we indeed worſhip him as our God. That which inwardly each man ſhould be, the Church outwardly ought to teſtify. And therefore the duties of our Religion which are ſeen, muſt be ſuch as that affection which is unſeen ought to be. Signs muſt reſemble the things they ſignify. If Religion bear the greateſt ſway in our hearts, our outward religious duties muſt ſhew it as far as the Church hath outward ability. Duties of Religion performed by whole ſocieties of men ought to have in them, according to our power, a ſenſible excellency, correſpondent to the majeſty of him whom we worſhip. Yea, then are the public duties of Religion beſt ordered, when the militant Church doth reſemble by ſenſible means [a], as it may in ſuch caſes, that hidden dignity and glory wherewith the Church triumphant in heaven is beautified. Howbeit, even as the very heat of the ſun itſelf, which is the life of the whole world, was to the people of God in the deſert a grievous annoyance, for eaſe whereof his extraordinary providence ordained a cloudy pillar to overſhadow them; ſo things of general uſe and benefit (for in this world, what is ſo perfect that no inconvenience doth ever follow it?) may by ſome accident be incommodious to a few. In which caſe, for ſuch private evils, remedies there are of like condition, though public Ordinances, wherein the common good is reſpected, be not ſtirred. Let our firſt demand be therefore, that in the external form of Religion ſuch things as are apparently, or can be ſufficiently proved effectual and generally fit to ſet forward godlineſs, either as betokening the

Wiſd. vi. 10.

1 Chron. xxix. 17.

2 Chron. ii. 5.

[a] Ἐκκλησία ἐστὶν ἐπίγειος οὐρανός. Germa. περὶ τῶν ἱερουργουμένων. Delectatio Domini in Eccleſia eſt; Eccleſia vero eſt imago Cœleſtium! Ambroſ. de interpel. Dav. Facit in terris opera cœlorum. Sidon. Apol. Epiſt. lib. vi.

greatneſs

greatneſs of God, or as beſeeming the dignity of Religion, or as concurring with celeſtial impreſſions in the minds of men, may be reverently thought of; ſome few, rare, caſual, and tolerable, or otherwiſe curable inconveniences notwithſtanding. BOOK V.

7. Neither may we in this caſe lightly eſteem what hath been allowed as fit in the judgment of antiquity, and by the long continued practice of the whole Church; from which unneceſſarily to ſwerve, experience never as yet has found it ſafe. For wiſdom's ſake we reverence them no leſs that are young, or not much leſs than if they were ſtricken in years. And therefore of ſuch it is rightly ſaid, that their ripeneſs of underſtanding is *grey hairs*, and their virtues *old age*. But becauſe wiſdom and youth are ſeldom joined in one, and the ordinary courſe of the world is more according to Job's obſervation, who giveth men advice to ſeek *wiſdom amongſt the ancient, and in the length of days, underſtanding*; therefore if the compariſon do ſtand between man and man which ſhall hearken unto other; ſith the aged for the moſt part are beſt experienced, leaſt ſubject to raſh and unadviſed paſſions, it hath been ever judged reaſonable, that their ſentence in matter of counſel ſhould be better truſted, and more relied upon than other men's. The goodneſs of God having furniſhed men with two chief inſtruments, both neceſſary for this life, hands to execute, and a mind to deviſe great things; the one is not profitable longer than the vigour of youth doth ſtrengthen it; nor the other greatly, till age and experience have brought it to perfection. In whom therefore time hath not perfected knowledge, ſuch muſt be contented to follow them in whom it hath. For this cauſe none is more attentively heard, than they whoſe ſpeeches are, as David's were, *I have been young, and now am old*, much I have ſeen and obſerved in the world. Sharp and ſubtile diſcourſes of wit procure many times very great applauſe; but being laid in the

The ſecond propoſition.

Wiſd. iv. 9.

Job xii. 12.

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the balance with that which the habit of ſound experience plainly delivereth, they are over-weighed. God may endue men extraordinarily with underſtanding as it pleaſeth him: but let no man preſuming thereupon neglect the inſtructions, or deſpiſe the ordinances of his elders, ſith he, whoſe gift wiſdom is, hath ſaid, *Aſk thy father, and he will ſhew thee; thine ancients, and they ſhall tell thee.* It is therefore the voice both of God and Nature, not of learning only, that, eſpecially in matters of action and policy, *The ſentences and judgments of men experienced, aged and wiſe, yea though they ſpeak without any proof or demonſtration, are no leſs to be hearkened unto, than as being demonſtrations in themſelves; becauſe ſuch men's long obſervation is as an eye, wherewith they preſently and plainly behold thoſe principles which ſway over all actions.* Whereby we are taught both the cauſe wherefore wiſe men's judgments ſhould be credited, and the means how to uſe their judgments to the increaſe of our own wiſdom. That which ſheweth them to be wiſe, is the gathering of principles out of their own particular experiments. And the framing of our particular experiments, according to the rule of their principles, ſhall make us ſuch as they are. If therefore, even at the firſt, ſo great account ſhould be made of wiſe men's counſels touching things that are publickly done; as time ſhall add thereunto continuance and approbation of ſucceeding ages, their credit and authority muſt needs be greater. They which do nothing but that which men of account did before them, are, although they do amiſs, yet the leſs faulty, becauſe they are not the authors of harm; and doing well, their actions are freed from prejudice and novelty [a]. To the beſt and wiſeſt while they live, the world is continually

Deut. xxxii. 7.

Ariſt. Eth. vi. cap. 11.

[a] Πρὸς τὰς ἐκ ποδῶν, φθόνος ὀδεὶς φύεται. Philo.
Πᾶσα δυσμένεια τῷ βίῳ τούτῳ συναποτίθεται. Syneſ.
Τὸ ἐκ ποδῶν οὔτ' αἰτιᾶται τὴ τετίμηται ἀφθόνως. Gregor. Naz. in Στιχ.

a froward

a froward oppoſite, a curious obſerver of their defects and imperfections; their virtues it afterwards as much admireth. And for this cauſe many times that which moſt deſerveth approbation, would hardly be able to find favour, if they which propoſe it were not content to profeſs themſelves therein ſcholars and followers of the ancients. For the world will not endure to hear that we are wiſer than they have been which went before. In which conſideration there is cauſe why we ſhould be ſlow and unwilling to change, without very urgent neceſſity, the ancient Ordinances, Rites, and long approved Cuſtoms of our venerable predeceſſors. The love of things ancient doth argue [a] ſtaidneſs; but levity and want of experience maketh apt unto innovations. That which wiſdom did firſt begin, and hath been with good men long continued, challengeth allowance of them that ſucceed, although it plead for itſelf nothing. That which is new, if it promiſe not much, doth fear condemnation before trial; until trial, no man doth acquit or truſt it, what good ſoever it pretend and promiſe. So that in this kind, there are few things known to be good, till ſuch time as they grow to be ancient. The vain pretence of thoſe glorious names, where they could not be with any truth, neither in reaſon ought to have been ſo much alleged, hath wrought ſuch a prejudice againſt them in the minds of the common ſort, as if they had utterly no force at all; whereas (eſpecially for theſe obſervances which concern our preſent queſtion) antiquity, cuſtom, and conſent in the Church of God, making with that which Law doth eſtabliſh, are themſelves moſt ſufficient reaſons to uphold the ſame, unleſs ſome notable public inconvenience

[a] "Ὅσοι γὰρ δι' εὐτάθειαν τρόπων τὸ τῆς ἀρχαιότητος σεμνὸν τῷ καινοπρεπεῖ προετίμησαν καὶ ἀπαραπαίητον τῶν πατέρων διεφύλαξαν τὴν παράδοσιν κατά τε χώραν καὶ πόλιν ταύτῃ κέχρηνται τῇ φωνῇ. Baſil. de Spirit. Sanct. cap. vii. tom. ii. p. 304. Ed. Par.

enforce

BOOK V. enforce the contrary. For [a] a ſmall thing in the eye of Law is as nothing. We are therefore bold to make our ſecond petition this; that in things, the fitneſs whereof is not of itſelf apparent, nor eaſy to be made ſufficiently manifeſt unto all, yet the judgment of antiquity concurring with that which is received, may induce them to think it not unfit, who are not able to allege any known weighty inconvenience which it hath, or to take any ſtrong exception againſt it.

The third propoſition. 8. All things cannot be of ancient continuance which are expedient and needful for the ordering of ſpiritual affairs: but the Church being a body which dieth not, hath always power, as occaſion requireth, no leſs to ordain that which never was, than to ratify what hath been before. To preſcribe the Order of doing in all things, is a peculiar prerogative which wiſdom hath, [b] as a Queen or ſovereign Commandreſs over other virtues. This in every ſeveral man's actions of common life appertaineth unto moral, in public and politic ſecular affairs, unto civil wiſdom. In like manner, to deviſe any certain form for the outward adminiſtration of public duties in the ſervice of God, or things belonging thereunto, and to find out the moſt convenient for that uſe, is a point of wiſdom eccleſiaſtical. It is not for a man, which doth know or ſhould know what Order is, and what peaceable Government requireth, to aſk, *Why we ſhould hang our judgment upon our Church's ſleeve*; and, *why in matters of Order, more than in matters of Doctrine*. The Church hath authority to eſtabliſh that for an Order at one time, which at another time it may aboliſh, and in both may do well. But that which in Doctrine

T. C. l. iii. p. 171.

[a] Ὁ μὲν μικρὸν τῷ εὖ παρεκβαίνων, οὐ ψέγεται. Ariſt. Ethic. ii. c. ix.

Modici nulla fere ratio haberi ſolet. Tiraquel de jud. in reb. exig. cap. x.

[b] Ἡ μὲν φρόνησις περὶ τὰ ποιητέα ὅρους αὐτοῖς τιθεῖσα. Philo. pag. 35. Allegor. Ed. Par.

the

the Church doth now deliver rightly as a truth, no man will ſay that it may hereafter recall, and as rightly avouch the contrary. Laws touching matter of Order are changeable by the power of the Church; articles concerning Doctrine, not ſo. We read often in the writings of catholic and holy men touching matters of Doctrine, *This we believe, this we hold, this the Prophets and Evangeliſts have declared, this the Apoſtles have delivered, this martyrs have ſealed with their blood, and confeſſed in the midſt of torments, to this we cleave, as to the anchor of our ſouls; againſt this, though an angel from heaven ſhould preach unto us, we would not believe.* But did we ever in any of them read touching matters of mere comelineſs, order, and decency, neither commanded nor prohibited by any Prophet, any Evangeliſt, any Apoſtle, *Although the Church wherein we live do ordain them to be kept, although they be never ſo generally obſerved, though all the Churches in the world ſhould command them, though angels from heaven ſhould require our ſubjection thereunto, I would hold him accurſed that doth obey?* Be it in matter of the one kind or of the other, what Scripture doth plainly deliver, to that the firſt place both of credit and obedience is due; the next whereunto is, whatſoever any man can neceſſarily conclude by force of Reaſon; after theſe, the voice of the Church ſucceedeth. That which the Church by her eccleſiaſtical authority ſhall probably think and define to be true or good, muſt in congruity of Reaſon over-rule all other inferior judgments whatſoever. To them which aſk, why we thus hang our judgments on the Church's ſleeve, I anſwer with Solomon, becauſe *two are better than one.* [a] *Yea ſimply* (ſaith Baſil) *and univerſally, whether it be in works of Nature, or of voluntary choice and counſel, I ſee not any thing done as it ſhould be, if it be wrought by an agent* BOOK V. Eccleſ. iv. 9.

[a] Baſil. Ep. 68. Turpis eſt omnis pars univerſo ſuo non congruens.

ſingling

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ſingling itſelf from conſorts. The Jews had a ſentence of good advice, *Take not upon thee to be Judge alone, there is no Judge but one only; ſay not to others, Receive my ſentence, when their authority is above thine.* The bare conſent of the whole Church ſhould itſelf in theſe things ſtop their mouths, who living under it dare preſume to bark againſt it. *There is* (ſaith Caſſianus) *no place of audience left for them, by whom obedience is not yielded to that which all have agreed upon.* Might we not think it more than wonderful, that Nature ſhould in all communities appoint a predominant judgment to ſway and over-rule in ſo many things; or that God himſelf ſhould allow ſo much authority and power unto every poor family for the ordering of all which are in it; and that the City of the living God, which is his Church, be able neither to command, nor yet to forbid any thing which the meaneſt ſhall in that reſpect, and for her ſole authority's ſake, be bound to obey? We cannot hide or diſſemble that evil, the grievous inconvenience whereof we feel. Our diſlike of them, by whom too much heretofore has been attributed unto the Church, is grown to an error on the contrary hand; ſo that now from the Church of God too much is derogated. By which removal of one extremity with another the world ſeeking to procure a remedy, hath purchaſed a mere exchange of the evil which before was felt. Suppoſe we, that the ſacred Word of God can at their hands receive due honour, by whoſe incitement the holy Ordinances of the Church endure every where open contempt? No, it is not poſſible they ſhould obſerve as they ought the one, who from the other withdraw unneceſſarily their own or their brethren's obedience. Surely the Church of God in this buſineſs is neither of capacity, I truſt, ſo weak, nor ſo unſtrengthened, I know, with authority from above; but that her Laws may exact obedience at the hands of her own children, and enjoin gainſayers ſilence, giving them roundly to underſtand, that where our duty

i. Iſhmael h Cap. hatr.

Caſſian. de Incarn. l. ii. c. 6.

duty is ſubmiſſion, weak oppoſitions betoken pride. We therefore crave, thirdly, to have it granted, that where neither the evidence of any Law divine, nor the ſtrength of any invincible argument otherwiſe found out by the light of Reaſon, nor any notable public inconvenience doth make againſt that which our own Laws Eccleſiaſtical have, although but newly, inſtituted, for the ordering of theſe affairs, the very authority of the Church itſelf, at the leaſt in ſuch caſes, may give ſo much credit to our own Laws, as to make their ſentence touching fitneſs and convenience, weightier than any bare or naked conceit to the contrary; eſpecially in them, who can owe no leſs than child-like obedience to her that hath more than motherly power. BOOK V.

9. There are ancient Ordinances, Laws (which on all ſides are allowed to be juſt and good, yea Divine and Apoſtolic Conſtitutions) which the Church, it may be, doth not always keep, nor always juſtly deſerve blame in that reſpect. For in evils that cannot be removed, without the manifeſt danger of greater to ſucceed in their rooms; wiſdom (of neceſſity) muſt give place to neceſſity. All it can do in thoſe caſes is, to deviſe how that which muſt be endured may be mitigated, and the inconveniences thereof countervailed as near as may be; that when the beſt things are not poſſible, the beſt may be made of thoſe that are. Nature, than which there is nothing more conſtant, nothing more uniform in all her ways, doth notwithſtanding ſtay her hand, yea, and change her courſe, when that which God by creation did command, he doth at any time by neceſſity countermand. It hath therefore pleaſed himſelf ſometime to unlooſe the very tongues even of dumb creatures, and to teach them to plead this in their own defence, leſt the cruelty of man ſhould perſiſt to afflict them for not keeping their wonted courſe, when ſome invincible impediment hath hindered. If we leave nature, and look into art, the workman hath in his heart The fourth propoſition. Numb. xxii. 28.

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heart a purpoſe, he carrieth in mind the whole form which his work ſhould have; there wanteth not in him ſkill and deſire to bring his labour to the beſt effect, only the matter which he hath to work on is unframable. This neceſſity excuſeth him; ſo that nothing is derogated from his credit, although much of his work's perfection be found wanting. Touching actions of common life, there is not any defence more favourably heard than theirs who allege ſincerely for themſelves, that they did as neceſſity conſtrained them. For when the mind is rightly ordered and affected as it ſhould be, in caſe ſome external impediment croſſing well adviſed deſires ſhall potently draw men to leave what they principally wiſh, and to take a courſe which they would not if their choice were free; what neceſſity forceth men unto[a], the ſame in this caſe it maintaineth, as long as nothing is committed ſimply in itſelf evil, nothing abſolutely ſinful or wicked, nothing repugnant to that immutable Law, whereby whatſoever is condemned as evil, can never any way be made good. The caſting away of things profitable for the ſuſtenance of man's life, is an unthankful abuſe of the fruits of God's good providence towards mankind. Which conſideration, for all that, did not hinder St. Paul from throwing corn into the ſea, when care of ſaving men's lives made it neceſſary to loſe that which elſe had been better ſaved. Neither was this to do evil, to the end that good might come of it; for of two ſuch evils, being not both evitable, the choice of the leſs is not evil. And evils muſt be in our conſtruction judged inevitable, if there be no apparent ordinary way to avoid them; becauſe, where counſel and advice bear rule, of God's extraordinary power without extraordinary warrant, we cannot preſume. In civil affairs, to declare what ſway neceſſity hath ever been accuſtomed to bear, were labour infinite. The Laws of

Acts xxvii. 38.

[a] Neceſſitas, quicquid coegit, defendit. Senec. Controv. lib. ix.

all

all ſtates and kingdoms in the world have ſcarcely of any thing more common uſe. Should then only the Church ſhew itſelf inhuman and ſtern, abſolutely urging a rigorous obſervation of ſpiritual Ordinances without relaxation or exception, what neceſſity ſoever happen? We know the contrary practice to have been commended by him, upon the warrant of whoſe judgment the Church, moſt of all delighted with merciful and moderate courſes, doth the oftener condeſcend unto like equity, permitting in caſes of neceſſity that which otherwiſe it diſalloweth and forbiddeth. Caſes of neceſſity being ſometime but urgent, ſometime extreme, [a] the conſideration of public utility is with very good advice judged at the leaſt equivalent with the eaſier kind of neceſſity. Now that which cauſeth numbers to ſtorm againſt ſome neceſſary tolerations, which they ſhould rather let paſs with ſilence, conſidering that in Polity as well Eccleſiaſtical as Civil, there are and will be always evils which no art of man can cure, breaches and leaks more than man's wit hath hands to ſtop; that which maketh odious unto them many things, wherein notwithſtanding the truth is, that very juſt regard hath been had of the public good; that which in a great part of the weightieſt cauſes belonging to this preſent controverſy, hath inſnared the judgments both of ſundry good, and of ſome well learned men, is the manifeſt truth of certain general principles, whereupon the Ordinances that ſerve for uſual practice in the Church of God are grounded. Which principles men knowing to be moſt ſound, and that the ordinary practice accordingly framed is good, whatſoever is over and beſides that ordinary, the ſame they judge repugnant to thoſe true principles. The cauſe of which error is ignorance, what reſtraints and limitations all ſuch principles have in regard of

Luke vi. 4.

[a] Cauſa neceſſitatis et utilitatis æquiparantur in jure. Ab. Panor. ad c. ut ſuper nu. 15. de Reb. Eccleſ. non alien.

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ſo manifold varieties [a], as the matter whereunto they are applicable, doth commonly afford. Theſe varieties are not known but by much experience, from whence to draw the true bounds of all principles, to diſcern how far forth they take effect, to ſee where and why they fail, to apprehend by what degrees and means they lead to the practice of things in ſhow, though not indeed, repugnant and contrary one to another, requireth more ſharpneſs of wit, more intricate circuitions of diſcourſe, more induſtry and depth of judgment, than common ability doth yield. So that general rules, till their limits be fully known, (eſpecially in matter of public and Eccleſiaſtical affairs,) are, by reaſon of the manifold ſecret exceptions which lie hidden in them, no other to the eye of man's underſtanding than cloudy miſts caſt before the eye of common ſenſe. They that walk in darkneſs know not whither they go; and even as little is their certainty, whoſe opinions generalities only do guide. With groſs and popular capacities nothing doth more prevail than unlimited generalities, becauſe of their plainneſs at the firſt ſight: nothing leſs with men of exact judgment, becauſe ſuch rules are not ſafe to be truſted over far. General Laws are like general rules of phyſic, according whereunto as no wiſe man will deſire himſelf to be cured, if there be joined with his diſeaſe ſome ſpecial accident, in regard whereof that whereby others in the ſame infirmity, but without the like accident, recover health, would be to him either hurtful, or at the leaſt unprofitable; ſo we muſt not, under a colourable commendation of holy Ordinances in the Church, and of reaſonable cauſes whereupon they have been grounded for the common good, imagine that all men's caſes ought to have one meaſure. Nor without ſingular wiſdom

[a] Ἐν γὰρ τοῖς περὶ τὰς πράξεις λόγοις, οἱ μὲν καθόλου κενίτεροί εἰσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ μέρους ἀληθινώτεροι· περὶ γὰρ τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα αἱ πράξεις. Eth. l. ii. c. 7.

therefore it hath been provided, that as the ordinary courſe of common affairs is diſpoſed of by general Laws, ſo likewiſe men's rarer incident neceſſities and utilities ſhould be with ſpecial equity conſidered. From hence it is, that ſo many privileges, immunities, exceptions, and diſpenſations have been always with great equity and reaſon granted, not to turn the edge of juſtice, nor to make void at certain times, and in certain men, through mere voluntary grace or benevolence, that which continually and univerſally ſhould be of force, (as ſome men underſtand it,) but in very truth to practiſe general Laws according to their right meaning. We ſee in contracts, and other dealings which daily paſs between man and man, that, to the utter undoing of ſome, many things by ſtrictneſs of Law may be done, which equity and honeſt meaning forbiddeth. Not that the Law is unjuſt, but unperfect; nor equity againſt, but above the Law, binding men's conſciences in things which Law cannot reach unto. Will any man ſay, that the virtue of private equity is oppoſite and repugnant to that Law, the ſilence whereof it ſupplieth in all ſuch private dealing? No more is public equity againſt the Law of public affairs; albeit the one permit unto ſome, in ſpecial conſiderations, that which the other, agreeably with general rules of juſtice, doth in general ſort forbid. For, ſith all good Laws are the voices of right Reaſon, which is the inſtrument wherewith God will have the world guided, and impoſſible it is that right ſhould withſtand right; it muſt follow, that principles and rules of juſtice, be they never ſo generally uttered, do no leſs effectually intend, than if they did plainly expreſs, an exception of all particulars, wherein their literal practice might any way prejudice equity. And becauſe it is natural unto all men to wiſh their own extraordinary benefit, when they think they have reaſonable inducements ſo to do, and no man can be preſumed a competent judge what equity doth require in his own

BOOK V. caſe; the likelieſt mean whereby the wit of man can provide, that he which uſeth the benefit of any ſpecial benignity above the common courſe of others, may enjoy it with good conſcience, and not againſt the true purpoſe of Laws, which in outward ſhew are contrary, muſt needs be to arm with authority ſome fit both for quality and place to adminiſter that, which in every ſuch particular ſhall appear agreeable with equity: wherein, as it cannot be denied, but that ſometimes the practice of ſuch juriſdiction may ſwerve through error even in the very beſt, and for other reſpects where leſs integrity is; ſo the watchfulleſt obſervers of inconveniences that way growing, and the readieſt to urge them in diſgrace of authorized proceedings, do very well know, that the diſpoſition of theſe things reſteth not now in the hands of Popes, who live in no worldly awe or ſubjection, but is committed to them whom Law may at all times bridle, and ſuperior power control; yea to them alſo in ſuch ſort, that Law itſelf hath ſet down to what perſons, in what cauſes, with what circumſtances, almoſt every faculty or favour ſhall be granted, leaving in a manner nothing unto them more than only to deliver what is already given by Law. Which maketh it by many degrees leſs reaſonable, that under pretence of inconveniences ſo eaſily ſtopped, if any did grow, and ſo well prevented that none may, men ſhould be altogether barred of the liberty that Law with equity and reaſon granteth. Theſe things therefore conſidered, we laſtly require, that it may not ſeem hard, if in caſes of neceſſity, or for common utility's ſake, certain profitable Ordinances ſometimes be releaſed, rather than all men always ſtrictly bound to the general rigour thereof.

The rule of men's private ſpirits not ſafe in theſe caſes to be followed.

10. Now where the Word of God leaveth the Church to make choice of her own Ordinances, if againſt thoſe things which have been received with great reaſon, or againſt that which the ancient practice of the Church hath continued time out of mind,

or

or againſt ſuch Ordinances as the power and authority of that Church under which we live hath in itſelf deviſed for the public good, or againſt the diſcretion of the Church in mitigating ſometimes with favourable equity that rigour which otherwiſe the literal generality of Eccleſiaſtical Laws hath judged to be more convenient and meet; if againſt all this it ſhould be free for men to reprove, to diſgrace, to reject at their own liberty what they ſee done and practiſed according to order ſet down; if in ſo great variety of ways as the wit of man is eaſily able to find out towards any purpoſe, and in ſo great liking as all men eſpecially have unto thoſe inventions, whereby ſome one ſhall ſeem to have been more enlightened from above than many thouſands, the Church did give every man licence to follow what himſelf imagineth that God's Spirit doth reveal unto him, or what he ſuppoſeth that God is likely to have revealed to ſome ſpecial perſon whoſe virtues deſerve to be highly eſteemed; what other effect could hereupon enſue, but the utter confuſion of his Church under pretence of being taught, led, and guided by his Spirit? the gifts and graces whereof do ſo naturally all tend unto common peace, that where ſuch ſingularity is, they whoſe hearts it poſſeſſeth ought to ſuſpect it the more; in as much as if it did come of God, and ſhould for that cauſe prevail with others, the ſame God which revealeth it to them, would alſo give them power of confirming it to others, either with miraculous operation, or with ſtrong and invincible remonſtrance of ſound Reaſon, ſuch as whereby it might appear that God would indeed have all men's judgments give place unto it; whereas now the error and unſufficiency of their arguments do make it on the contrary ſide againſt them a ſtrong preſumption, that God hath not moved their hearts to think ſuch things as he hath not enabled them to prove. And ſo from rules of general direction, it reſteth that now we deſcend to a more diſtinct explication

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of particulars, wherein thoſe rules have their ſpecial efficacy.

Places for the public ſervice of God.

11. Solemn duties of public ſervice to be done unto God, muſt have their places ſet and prepared in ſuch ſort as beſeemeth actions of that regard. Gen. iii. 8. Adam even during the ſpace of his ſmall continuance in Paradiſe, had where to preſent himſelf before the Gen. iv. 3. Lord. Adam's ſons had out of Paradiſe in like ſort Gen. xiii. whither to bring their ſacrifices. The Patriarchs uſed 4. xxii. 1, 2. xxi. 33. altars, and mountains, and groves, to the ſelf-ſame purpoſe. In the vaſt Wilderneſs, when the people of God had themſelves no ſettled habitation, Exod. xxvi. yet a moveable tabernacle they were commanded of God to make. The like charge was given them againſt the time they ſhould come to ſettle themſelves in the land which had been promiſed unto their fathers, Deut. xii. 5, 6, 7. *Ye ſhall ſeek that place which the Lord your God ſhall chooſe.* When God had choſen Jeruſalem, and 2 Chron. iii. 1. in Jeruſalem Mount Moriah, there to have his ſtanding habitation made, it was in the chiefeſt of David's 2 Chron. vi. 7. deſires to have performed ſo good a work. His Pſal. cxxxii. 3, 4, 5. grief was no leſs that he could not have the honour to build God a temple, than their anger is at this day, who bite aſunder their own tongues with very wrath, that they have not as yet the power to pull down the temples which they never built, and to level them with the ground. It was no mean thing which he purpoſed. To perform a work ſo majeſtical and ſtately was no ſmall charge. Therefore he in- 1 Chron. xxii. 14, 15, 16. cited all men unto bountiful contribution, and procured towards it with all his power, gold, ſilver, braſs, iron, wood, precious ſtones in great abundance. Yea 1 Chron. xxix. 3, 4. moreover, *Becauſe I have* (ſaith David) *a joy in the Houſe of my God, I have of my own gold and ſilver, beſides all that I have prepared for the Houſe of the ſanctuary, given to the Houſe of my God three thouſand talents of gold, even the gold of Ophir, ſeven thouſand talents of fined ſilver.* After the overthrow of this firſt Houſe of God, a ſecond was inſtead thereof erected; but with

with ſo great odds, that they wept which had ſeen the former, and beheld how much this latter came behind it, the beauty whereof notwithſtanding was ſuch, that even this was alſo the wonder of the whole world. Beſides which temple, there were both in other parts of the land, and even in Jeruſalem, by proceſs of time, no ſmall number of ſynagogues for men to reſort unto. Our Saviour himſelf, and after him the Apoſtles, frequented both the one and the other. The Church of Chriſt which was in Jeruſalem, and held that profeſſion which had not the public allowance and countenance of authority, could not ſo long uſe the exerciſe of Chriſtian Religion but in private only. So that as Jews they had acceſs to the temples and ſynagogues, where God was ſerved after the cuſtom of the Law; but for that which they did as Chriſtians, they were of neceſſity forced other where to aſſemble themſelves. And as God gave increaſe to his Church, they ſought out both there and abroad for that purpoſe not the fitteſt (for ſo the times would not ſuffer them to do) but the ſafeſt places they could. In proceſs of time, ſome whiles by ſufferance, ſome whiles by ſpecial leave and favour, they began to erect to themſelves oratories; not in any ſumptuous or ſtately manner, which neither was poſſible by reaſon of the poor eſtate of the Church, and had been perilous in regard of the world's envy towards them. At the length, when it pleaſed God to raiſe up Kings and Emperors favouring ſincerely the Chriſtian truth, that which the Church before either could not o; durſt not do, was with all alacrity performed. Temples were in all places erected, no coſt was ſpared, nothing judged too dear which that way ſhould be ſpent. The whole world did ſeem to exult, that it had occaſion of pouring out gifts to ſo bleſſed a purpoſe. That cheerful devotion which David this way did exceedingly delight to behold, and wiſh that the ſame in the Jewiſh people might be perpetual, was then in Chriſtian people

Ezr. iii. 12. Haggai ii. 3.

Acts i. 13. and ii. 1. and 46.

1 Chron. xxix. 17, 18, 19.

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every where to be ſeen. Their actions, till this day always accuſtomed to be ſpoken of with great honour, are called openly into queſtion. They, and as many as have been followers of their example in that thing, we eſpecially that worſhip God, either in temples which their hands made, or which other men ſithence have framed by the like pattern, are in that reſpect charged no leſs than with the very ſin of idolatry. Our Churches in the foam of that good ſpirit which directeth ſuch fiery tongues, they term ſpitefully the temples of Baal, idle ſynagogues, abominable ſties.

The ſolemnity of erecting Churches condemned by Bar. p. 130. The hallowing and dedicating of them ſcorned, p. 141.

12. Wherein the firſt thing which moveth them thus to caſt up their poiſon, are certain ſolemnities uſual at the firſt erection of Churches. Now although the ſame ſhould be blame-worthy, yet this age (thanks be to God) hath reaſonably well forborne to incur the danger of any ſuch blame. It cannot be laid unto many men's charge at this day living, either that they have been ſo curious as to trouble the Biſhops with placing the firſt ſtone in the Churches they built, or ſo ſcrupulous as after the erection of them to make any great ado for their dedication. In which kind notwithſtanding, as we do neither allow unmeet, nor purpoſe the ſtiff defence of, any unneceſſary cuſtom heretofore received; ſo we know no reaſon wherefore Churches ſhould be the worſe, if at the firſt erecting of them, at the making of them public, at the time when they are delivered, as it were, into God's own poſſeſſion, and when the uſe whereunto they ſhall ever ſerve is eſtabliſhed, Ceremonies fit to betoken ſuch intents, and to accompany ſuch actions be uſual, as [a] in the pureſt times they have been. When Conſtantine had finiſhed an houſe

Durand. rational. lib. i. cap. 6. et de Conſec. d. 1. c. tabernaculum. Greg. Mag. lib. x. epiſt. 12. et lib. vii. epiſt. 71. et lib. viii. epiſt. 63.

Vide Euſeb. Pamphil. de vita Conſtant. lib. iv. c. 41, 43, 44, 45.

[a] Ἐγκαίνια τιμᾶσθαι παλαιὸς νόμος, καὶ καλῶς ἔχων, μᾶλλον δὲ τὰ νέα τιμᾶσθαι δι' ἐγκαινίων. Καὶ τοῦτο οὐχ ἅπαξ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλάκις, ἑκάστης τῆ ἐνιαυτῆ περιτροπῆς τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν ἐπαγόσης, ἵνα μὴ ἐξίτηλα τῷ χρόνῳ γένηται τὰ καλά.

for

for the ſervice of God at Jeruſalem, the dedication he judged a matter not unworthy, about the ſolemn performance whereof the greateſt part of the Biſhops in Chriſtendom ſhould meet together. Which thing they did at the Emperor's motion, each moſt willingly ſetting forth that action to their power, ſome with orations, ſome with ſermons, ſome with the ſacrifice of prayers unto God for the peace of the world, for the Church's ſafety, for the Emperor's and his children's good. By Athanaſius the like is recorded concerning a Biſhop of Alexandria, in a work of the like devout magnificence. So that whether Emperors or Biſhops in thoſe days were Church-founders, the ſolemn dedication of Churches they thought not to be a work in itſelf either vain or ſuperſtitious. Can we judge it a thing ſeemly for any man to go about the building of an Houſe to the God of Heaven with no other appearance, than if his end were to rear up a kitchen, or a parlour, for his own uſe? Or when a work of ſuch nature is finiſhed, remaineth there nothing but preſently to uſe it, and ſo an end? It behoveth that the place where God ſhall be ſerved by the whole Church, be a public place, for the avoiding of privy conventicles, which covered with pretence of Religion may ſerve unto dangerous practices. Yea, though ſuch aſſemblies be had indeed for Religion's ſake, hurtful nevertheleſs they may eaſily prove, as well in regard of their fitneſs to ſerve the turn of Heretics, and ſuch as privily will ſooneſt adventure to inſtil their poiſon into men's minds; as alſo for the occaſion which thereby is given to malicious perſons, both of ſuſpecting, and of traducing with more colourable ſhew thoſe actions, which in themſelves being holy, ſhould be ſo ordered that no man might probably otherwiſe think of them. Which conſiderations have by ſo much the greater weight, for that of theſe inconveniences the Church heretofore had ſo plain experience, when Chriſtian

Athanaſius Apol. ad Conſtantium.

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Chriſtian men were driven to uſe ſecret meetings, becauſe the liberty of public places was not granted them. There are which hold, that the preſence of a Chriſtian multitude, and the duties of Religion performed amongſt them, do make the place of their aſſembly public; even as the preſence of the King and his retinue maketh any man's houſe a court. But this I take to be an error, in as much as the only thing which maketh any place public, is the public aſſignment thereof unto ſuch duties. As for the multitude there aſſembled, or the duties which they perform, it doth not appear how either ſhould be of force to infuſe any ſuch prerogative. Nor doth the ſolemn dedication of Churches ſerve only to make them public, but farther alſo to ſurrender up that right which otherwiſe their founders might have in them, and to make God himſelf their owner. For which cauſe, at the erection and conſecration as well of the tabernacle as of the temple, it pleaſed the Almighty to give a manifeſt ſign that he took poſſeſſion of both. Finally, it notifieth in ſolemn manner the holy and religious uſe, whereunto it is intended ſuch houſes ſhall be put. Theſe things the wiſdom of Solomon did not account ſuperfluous. He knew how eaſily that which was meant ſhould be holy and ſacred, might be drawn from the uſe whereunto it was firſt provided; he knew how bold men are to take even from God himſelf; how hardly that houſe would be kept from impious profanation he knew; and right wiſely therefore endeavoured by ſuch ſolemnities to leave in the minds of men that impreſſion which might ſomewhat reſtrain their boldneſs, and nouriſh a reverend affection towards the Houſe of God. For which cauſe when the firſt houſe was deſtroyed, and a new in the ſtead thereof erected by the children of Iſrael after their return from captivity, they kept the dedication even of this houſe alſo with joy.

Exod. xl. 34. 1 Reg. viii. 10, 11.

Exod. xl. 9.

1 Reg. viii.

Levit. xvi. 2

The place named holy.

Ezr. vi. 16.

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The argument which our Saviour uſeth againſt profaners of the temple, he taketh from the uſe whereunto it was with ſolemnity conſecrated. And as the prophet Jeremy forbiddeth the carrying of burdens on the Sabbath, becauſe that was a ſanctified day; ſo becauſe the temple was a place ſanctified, our Lord would not ſuffer no not the carriage of a veſſel through the temple. Theſe two commandments therefore are in the Law conjoined, *Ye ſhall keep my Sabbaths, and reverence my Sanctuary.* Out of thoſe the Apoſtle's words, *Have ye not houſes to eat and drink in?* albeit temples, ſuch as now, were not then erected for the Chriſtian Religion, it hath been nevertheleſs not abſurdly conceived, that he teacheth what difference ſhould be made between houſe and houſe; that what is fit for the dwelling-place of God, and what for man's habitation he ſheweth; he requireth that Chriſtian men at their own home take common food, and in the houſe of the Lord none but that food which is heavenly; he inſtructeth them, that as in the one place they uſe to refreſh their bodies, ſo they may in the other learn to ſeek the nouriſhment of their ſouls; and as there they ſuſtain temporal life, ſo here they would learn to make proviſion for eternal. Chriſt could not ſuffer that the temple ſhould ſerve for a place of mart, nor the Apoſtle of Chriſt that the Church ſhould be made an inn. When therefore we ſanctify or hallow Churches, that which we do is only to teſtify that we make them places of public reſort, that we inveſt God himſelf with them, that we ſever them from common uſes. In which action, other ſolemnities than ſuch as are decent and fit for that purpoſe we approve none. Indeed we condemn not all as unmeet, the like whereunto have either been deviſed or uſed haply amongſt Idolaters. For why ſhould conformity with them in matter of opinion be lawful when they think that which is true, if in action when they do that which is meet, it be not lawful

Matt. xxi. 13. Jer. xvii. 24. Mark xi. 16. Levit. xxvi. 2. 1 Cor. xi. 22. Pet. Cluniac.

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to be like unto them? Are we to forſake any true opinion becauſe Idolaters have maintained it? or to ſhun any requiſite action only becauſe we have in the practice thereof been prevented by Idolaters? It is no impoſſible thing, but that ſometimes they may judge as rightly what is decent about ſuch external affairs of God, as in greater things what is true. Not therefore whatſoever Idolaters have either thought or done, but let whatſoever they have either thought or done idolatrouſly, be ſo far forth abhorred. For of that which is good, even in evil things, God is author.

Of the names whereby we diſtinguiſh our Churches.

13. Touching the names of Angels and Saints whereby the moſt of our Churches are called, as the cuſtom of ſo naming them is very ancient, ſo neither was the cauſe thereof at the firſt, nor is the uſe and continuance with us at this preſent, hurtful. That Churches were conſecrated unto none but the Lord only, the very general name itſelf doth ſufficiently ſhew, in as much as by plain grammatical conſtruction, [a] Church doth ſignify no other thing than the Lord's Houſe. And becauſe the multitude as of perſons, ſo of things particular, cauſeth variety of proper names to be deviſed for diſtinction ſake, founders of Churches did herein that which beſt liked their own conceit at the preſent time; yet each intending, that as oft as thoſe buildings came to be mentioned, the name ſhould put men in mind of ſome memorable thing or perſon. Thus therefore it cometh to paſs that all Churches have had their names, ſome as memorials of peace, ſome of wiſdom, ſome in memory of the Trinity itſelf, ſome of Chriſt under ſundry titles, of the bleſſed Virgin not a few, many of one Apoſtle, Saint, or Martyr, many of all. In which reſpect their commendable purpoſe being not of every one underſtood, they have been in latter

Vid. Soer. l. i. c 16. Ev. lib. iv. c. 30. Hiſt. Trip. l. iv. c. 18.

[a] From Κυριακὴ, Kyre, and by adding letters of aſpiration, Chyrch.

ages

ages conſtrued as though they had ſuperſtitiouſly meant, either that thoſe places which were denominated of Angels and Saints ſhould ſerve for the worſhip of ſo glorious creatures, or elſe thoſe glorified creatures for defence, protection, and patronage of ſuch places. A thing which the ancients do utterly diſclaim. To them, ſaith St. Auguſtine, we appoint no Churches, becauſe they are not to us as gods. Again, *The nations to their gods erected temples, we not temples to our martyrs as unto God, but memorials as unto dead men, whoſe ſpirits with God are ſtill living*[a]. Divers conſiderations there are for which Chriſtian Churches might firſt take their names of Saints; as either becauſe by the miniſtry of Saints it pleaſed God there to ſhew ſome rare effect of his power; or elſe in regard of death, which thoſe Saints having ſuffered for the teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt, did thereby make the places where they died venerable; or thirdly, for that it liked good and virtuous men to give ſuch occaſion of mentioning them often, to the end that the naming of their perſons might cauſe enquiry to be made, and meditation to be had of their virtues. Wherefore, ſeeing that we cannot juſtly account it ſuperſtition, to give unto Churches thoſe fore-rehearſed names, as memorials either of holy perſons or things; if it be plain that their founders did with ſuch meaning name them, ſhall not we in otherwiſe taking them offer them injury? Or if it be obſcure or uncertain what they meant, yet this conſtruction being more favourable, charity (I hope) conſtraineth no man which ſtandeth doubtful of their minds, to lean to the hardeſt and worſt interpretation that their words can carry. Yea, although it were clear, that they all (for the error of ſome is manifeſt in this behalf) had therein a ſuperſtitious

V. Aug. de civ. Dei, tom. vii. l. 22. c. 10. p. 674. Ed. Par.

[a] The duty which Chriſtian men perfórmed in keeping feſtival dedications, St. Baſil termeth λατρείαν τῶν Θεῶν, acknowledging the ſame to have been withal τιμὴν εἰς τοὺς Μάρτυρας. Baſil. in Pſal. cxiv.

intent,

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intent, wherefore ſhould their fault prejudice us, who (as all men know) do uſe by way of mere diſtinction the names which they of ſuperſtition gave? In the uſe of thoſe names whereby we diſtinguiſh both days and months, are we culpable of ſuperſtition, becauſe they were who firſt invented them? The ſign Caſtor and Pollux, ſuperſtitiouſly given unto that ſhip wherein the Apoſtle ſailed, polluteth not the Evangeliſt's pen, who thereby doth but diſtinguiſh that ſhip from others. If to Daniel there had been given no other name but only Belteſhazzar, given him in honour of the Babylonian idol Belti, ſhould their idolatry which were the authors of that name cleave unto every man which had ſo termed him by way of perſonal difference only? Were it not to ſatisfy the minds of the ſimpler ſort of men, theſe nice curioſities are not worthy the labour which we beſtow to anſwer them.

Acts xxviii. 11.

Dan. ii. 26. Vide Scal. de emend. temp. l. vi. p. 277.

Of the faſhion of our Churches.

14. The like unto this is a fancy which they have againſt the faſhion of our Churches, as being framed according to the pattern of the Jewiſh Temple. A fault no leſs grievous, if ſo be it were true, than if ſome King ſhould build his manſion-houſe by the model of Solomon's palace. So far forth as our Churches and their Temple have one end, what ſhould let, but that they may lawfully have one form? The Temple was for ſacrifice, and therefore had rooms to that purpoſe, ſuch as ours have none. Our Churches are places provided, that the people might there aſſemble themſelves in due and decent manner, according to their ſeveral degrees and order. Which thing being common unto us with Jews, we have in this reſpect our Churches divided by certain partitions, although not ſo many in number as theirs. They had their ſeveral for Heathen nations, their ſeveral for the people of their own nation, their ſeveral for men, their ſeveral for women, their ſeveral for their prieſts, and for the High Prieſt alone their ſeveral. There being in ours for local diſtinction be-

tween

tween the Clergy and the reſt (which yet we do not with any great ſtrictneſs or curioſity obſerve neither) but one partition, the cauſe whereof at the firſt (as it ſeemeth) was, that as many as were capable of the holy myſteries, might there aſſemble themſelves, and no other creep in amongſt them; this is now made a matter ſo heinous, as if our Religion thereby were become even plain Judaiſm, and as though we retained a moſt holy place, whereinto there might not any but the High Prieſt alone enter, according to the cuſtom of the Jews.

The ſumptuouſneſs of Churches.

15. Some it highly diſpleaſeth, that ſo great expences this way are employed: *The mother of ſuch magnificence* (they think) *is but only a proud ambitious deſire to be ſpoken of far and wide. Suppoſe we that God himſelf delighteth to dwell ſumptuouſly? or taketh pleaſure in chargeable pomp? No; then was the Lord moſt acceptably ſerved, when his temples were rooms borrowed within the houſes of poor men. This was ſuitable unto the nakedneſs of Jeſus Chriſt, and the ſimplicity of his Goſpel.* What thoughts or cogitations they had which were authors of thoſe things, the uſe and benefit whereof hath deſcended unto ourſelves, as we do not know, ſo we need not ſearch. It cometh (we grant) many times to paſs, that the works of men being the ſame, their drifts and purpoſes therein are divers. The charge of Herod about the Temple of God was ambitious; yet Solomon's virtuous, Conſtantine's holy. But howſoever their hearts are diſpoſed by whom any ſuch thing is done in the world, ſhall we think that it baneth the work which they leave behind them, or taketh away from others the uſe and benefit thereof? Touching God himſelf, hath he any where revealed that it is his delight to dwell beggarly? and that he taketh no pleaſure to be worſhipped, ſaving only in poor cottages? Even then was the Lord as acceptably honoured of his people as ever, when the ſtateſieſt places and things in the whole world were

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ſought out to adorn his Temple. This is moſt ſuitable[a], decent, and fit for the greatneſs of Jeſus Chriſt, for the ſublimity of his Goſpel, except we think of Chriſt and his Goſpel as[b] the officers of Julian did. As therefore the ſon of Syrach giveth verdict concerning thoſe things which God hath wrought, *A man need not ſay, This is worſe than that, this more acceptable to God, that leſs; for in their ſeaſon they are all worthy praiſe:* the like we may alſo conclude, as touching theſe two ſo contrary ways of providing, in meaner or in coſtlier ſort, for the honour of Almighty God, *A man need not ſay, This is worſe than that, this more acceptable to God, that leſs; for with him they are in their ſeaſon both allowable:* the one, when the ſtate of the Church is poor; the other, when God hath enriched it with plenty. When they which had ſeen the beauty of the firſt Temple built by Solomon in the days of his great proſperity and peace, beheld how far it excelled the ſecond, which had not builders of like ability, the tears of their grieved eyes the Prophets endeavoured with comforts to wipe away. Whereas if the Houſe of God were by ſo much the more perfect, by how much the glory thereof is leſs, they ſhould have done better to rejoice than weep, their Prophets better to reprove than comfort. It being objected againſt the Church in the times of univerſal perſecution, that her ſervice done to God was not ſolemnly performed in temples fit for the honour of divine Majeſty, their moſt convenient anſwer was, that *The beſt temples which we can dedicate to God, are our ſanctified ſouls and bodies.* Whereby it plainly appeareth how the Fathers, when they were upbraided with that

Ecclus. xxxix. 33, 34.

Haggai ii. 5, 9.

Minut. Fœl. in Octav.

[a] Ἔργον δὲ τὸ μέγα καὶ καλὸν τιμιώτατον· τῷ γὰρ τοιούτῳ ἡ θειρία θαυμαστή. Ariſt. Eth. l. iv. c. 2. τὰ αἰσθήσει καλὰ καὶ νοήσει καλῶν εἰκόνες. Philo. Jud.

[b] Fœlix, theſauri imperialis quæſtor, conſpicatus ſacrorum vaſorum pretia; En, inquit, qualibus vaſis miniſtratur Mariæ filio. Theodoret. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. iii. c. 12.

defect,

defect, comforted themſelves with the meditation of God's moſt gracious and merciful nature, who did not therefore the leſs accept of their hearty affection and zeal, rather than took any great delight, or imagined any high perfection in ſuch their want of external ornaments, which when they wanted, the cauſe was their only lack of ability: ability ſerving, they wanted them not. Before the Emperor Conſtantine's time, under Severus, Gordian, Philip, and Galienus, the ſtate of Chriſtian affairs being tolerable, the former buildings which were but of mean and ſmall eſtate contented them not; ſpacious and ample Churches they erected throughout every city. No envy was able to be their hinderance, no practice of Satan or fraud of men available againſt their proceedings herein, while they continued as yet worthy to feel the aid of the arm of God extended over them for their ſafety. Theſe Churches Diocleſian cauſed by ſolemn edict to be afterwards overthrown. Maximinus with like authority giving them leave to erect them, the hearts of all men were even rapt with divine joy, to ſee thoſe places, which tyrannous impiety had laid waſte, recovered, as it were, out of mortal calamity, Churches *reared up to an height immeaſurable, and adorned with far more beauty in their reſtauration than their founders before had given them.* Whereby we ſee how moſt Chriſtian minds then ſtood affected; we ſee how joyful they were to behold the ſumptuous ſtatelineſs of houſes built unto God's glory. If we ſhould over and beſides this allege the care which was had that all things about the Tabernacle of Moſes might be as beautiful, gorgeous, and rich, as art could make them, or what travel and coſt was beſtowed that the goodlineſs of the Temple might be a ſpectacle of admiration to all the world; this, they will ſay, was figurative, and ſerved by God's appointment but for a time, to ſhadow out the true everlaſting glory of a more divine ſanctuary; whereunto Chriſt being long ſithence entered, it ſeemeth

Euſeb. Pamphil. l. viii. c. 1.

Idem, l. viii. c. 2.

Idem, l. x. c. 2.

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that all thoſe curious exornations ſhould rather ceaſe. Which thing we alſo ourſelves would grant, if the uſe thereof had been merely and only myſtical. But, ſith the prophet David doth mention a natural conveniency which ſuch kind of bounteous expences have, as well for that we do thereby give unto God a teſtimony of our cheerful affection, which thinketh nothing too dear to be beſtowed about the furniture of his ſervice, as alſo becauſe it ſerveth to the world for a witneſs of his Almightineſs, whom we outwardly honour with the chiefeſt of outward things, as being of all things himſelf incomparably the greateſt. Beſides, were it not alſo ſtrange, if God ſhould have made ſuch ſtore of glorious creatures on earth, and leave them all to be conſumed in ſecular vanity, allowing none but the baſer ſort to be employed in his own ſervice? To ſet forth the majeſty of Kings, his Vicegerents in this world, the moſt gorgeous and rare treaſures which the world hath are procured. We think, belike, that he will accept what the meaneſt of them would diſdain. If there be great care to build and beautify thoſe corruptible ſanctuaries, little or none that the living temples of the Holy Ghoſt, the dearly redeemed ſouls of the people of God, may be edified; huge expences upon timber and ſtone, but towards the relief of the poor ſmall devotion; coſt this way infinite, and in the mean while charity cold: we have in ſuch caſe juſt occaſion to make complaint as St. Jerom did, *The walls of the Church there are enough contented to build, and to underſet it with goodly pillars, the marbles are poliſhed, the roofs ſhine with gold, the altar hath precious ſtones to adorn it; and of Chriſt's Miniſters no choice at all.* The ſame Jerom, both in that place and elſewhere, debaſeth with like intent the glory of ſuch magnificence, (a thing whereunto men's affections in thoſe times needed no ſpur,) thereby to extol the neceſſity ſometimes of charity and alms, ſometimes of other the moſt principal duties belonging

1 Chron. xxviii. 14.

2 Chron. ii. 5.

Matth. vi. 29.

Malac. i. 8.

Ad Nepotian de vita Cleric. tom. iv. p. 263. Ep. ed. Par.

Ad Demetr. Epiſt. xii. ad Gaudentium.

ing

ing unto Chriſtian men; which duties were neither ſo highly eſteemed as they ought, and being compared with that in queſtion, the directeſt ſentence we can give of them both, as unto me it ſeemeth, is this; *God, who requireth the one as neceſſary, accepteth the other alſo as being an honourable work.*

What holineſs and virtue we aſcribe to the Church, more than other places.

16. Our opinion concerning the force and virtue which ſuch places have, is, I truſt, without any blemiſh or ſtain of hereſy. Churches receive, as every thing elſe, their chief perfection from the end whereunto they ſerve. Which end being the public worſhip of God, they are in this conſideration houſes of greater dignity than any provided for meaner purpoſes. For which cauſe they ſeem after a ſort even to mourn, as being injured and defrauded of their right, when places not ſanctified, as they are, prevent them unneceſſarily in that pre-eminence and honour. Whereby alſo it doth come to paſs, that the ſervice of God hath not then itſelf ſuch perfection of grace and comelineſs, as when the dignity of place which it wiſheth for doth concur. Again, albeit the true worſhip of God be to God in itſelf acceptable, who reſpecteth not ſo much in what place, as with what affection he is ſerved; and therefore Moſes in the midſt of the ſea, Job on the dunghill, Ezekiah in bed, Jeremy in mire, Jonas in the whale, Daniel in the den, the Children in the furnace, the Thief on the croſs, Peter and Paul in priſon, calling unto God were heard, as St. Baſil noteth: manifeſt notwithſtanding it is, that the very majeſty and holineſs of the place where God is worſhipped hath in regard of us great virtue, force, and efficacy, for that it ſerveth as a ſenſible help to ſtir up devotion; and in that reſpect, no doubt, bettereth even our holieſt and beſt actions in this kind. As therefore we every where exhort all men to worſhip God; even ſo, for performance of this ſervice by the people of God aſſembled, we think not any place ſo good as the Church, neither any exhortation ſo fit as

Exhort. ad bapt. et pœnitent.

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that of David, *O worſhip the Lord in the beauty of holineſs.*

Pſal. xcvi. 9.

17. For of our Churches thus it becometh us to eſteem, howſoever others, rapt with the pang of a furious zeal, do pour out againſt them devout blaſphemies, crying, *Down with them, down with them, even to the very ground: For to idolatry they have been abuſed. And the places where idols have been worſhipped, are by the Law of God devote to utter deſtruction. For execution of which Law, the kings that were godly, as Aſa, Jehoſaphat, Hezekiah, Joſiah, deſtroyed all the high places, altars, and groves, which had been erected in Juda and Iſrael. He that ſaid, Thou ſhalt have no other gods before my face, hath likewiſe ſaid, Thou ſhalt utterly deface and deſtroy all theſe ſynagogues and places where ſuch idols have been worſhipped. This Law containeth the temporal puniſhment which God hath ſet down, and willeth that men execute for the breach of the other Law. They which ſpare them therefore, do but reſerve, as the hypocrite Saul did, execrable things to worſhip God withal.* The truth is, that as no man ſerveth God, and loveth him not; ſo neither can any man ſincerely love God, and not extremely abhor that ſin which is the higheſt degree of treaſon againſt the Supreme Guide and Monarch of the whole world, with whoſe divine authority and power it inveſteth others. By means whereof the ſtate of idolaters is two ways miſerable. Firſt, in that which they worſhip they find no ſuccour: and ſecondly, at his hands whom they ought to ſerve there is no other thing to be looked for but the effects of moſt juſt diſpleaſure, the withdrawing of grace, derelict in this world, and in the world to come confuſion. Paul and Barnabas, when infidels admiring their virtues went about to ſacrifice unto them, rent their garments in token of horror, and as frighted perſons ran crying through the preſs of the people, *O men, wherefore do ye theſe things?* They knew the force of that dreadful curſe whereunto idolatry maketh ſubject. Nor is there cauſe why the guilty

Their pretence that would have Churches utterly razed.

Pſ. cxxxvii. 7.

Deut. xii. 2. 2 Chron. xvii. 6. 2 Chron. xxix.

Iſa. viii. 21. xlv. 20. Hoſ. xiv. 4. Iſa. xli. 24. Pſ. cxv. 8. lxxxi. xiii. Rom. i. 24. Judic. vi. 13. Apoc. xxi. 8. Iſa. ii. 21. Acts xiv. 14, 15. Deut. xxviii. 20.

guilty ſuſtaining the ſame, ſhould grudge or complain of injuſtice. For, whatſoever evil befalleth in that reſpect, themſelves have made themſelves worthy to ſuffer it. As for thoſe things either whereon, or elſe wherewith ſuperſtition worketh, polluted they are by ſuch abuſe, and deprived of that dignity which their nature delighteth in. For there is nothing which doth not grieve, and, as it were, even loathe itſelf, whenſoever iniquity cauſeth it to ſerve unto vile purpoſes. Idolatry therefore maketh whatſoever it toucheth the worſe. Howbeit ſith creatures which have no underſtanding can ſhew no will, and where no will is, there is no ſin, and only that which ſinneth is ſubject to puniſhment; which way ſhould any ſuch creature be puniſhable by the Law of God? There may be cauſe ſometime to aboliſh or to extinguiſh them; but ſurely never by way of puniſhment to the things themſelves. Yea farther, howſoever the Law of Moſes did puniſh idolaters, we find not that God hath appointed for us any definite or certain temporal judgment, which the Chriſtian magiſtrate is of neceſſity for ever bound to execute upon offenders in that kind, much leſs upon things that way abuſed as mere inſtruments. For what God did command touching Canaan, the ſame concerneth not us any otherwiſe than only as a fearful pattern of his juſt diſpleaſure and wrath againſt ſinful nations. It teacheth us, how God thought good to plague and afflict them; it doth not appoint in what form and manner we ought to puniſh the ſin of idolatry in all others. Unleſs they will ſay, that becauſe the Iſraelites were commanded to make no covenant with the people of that land, therefore leagues and truces made between ſuperſtitious perſons, and ſuch as ſerve God aright, are unlawful altogether; or becauſe God commanded the Iſraelites to ſmite the inhabitants of Canaan, and to root them out, that therefore reformed Churches are bound to put all others to the edge of the ſword. Now whereas commandment was alſo given to deſtroy all places where the Canaanites

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Jer. ii. 17.

Deut. xii. 2.

BOOK V. had ſerved their Gods, and not to convert any one of them to the honour of the true God; this precept had reference unto a ſpecial intent and purpoſe, which was, that there ſhould be but one only place in the whole land, whereunto the people might bring ſuch offerings, gifts, and ſacrifices, as their Levitical Law did require. By which Law, ſevere charge was given them in that reſpect, not to convert thoſe places to the worſhip of the living God, where nations before them had ſerved idols, *But to ſeek the place which the Lord their God ſhould chooſe out of all their tribes.* Beſides, it is reaſon we ſhould likewiſe conſider how great a difference there is between their proceedings, who erect a new commonwealth, which is to have neither people nor Law, neither Regiment nor Religion the ſame that was; and theirs, who only reform a decayed eſtate, by reducing it to that perfection from which it hath ſwerved. In this caſe we are to retain as much, in the other as little of former things as we may. Sith therefore examples have not generally the force of Laws which all men ought to keep, but of counſels only and perſuaſions not amiſs to be followed by them whoſe caſe is the like; ſurely where caſes are ſo unlike as theirs and ours, I ſee not how that which they did ſhould induce, much leſs any way enforce us to the ſame practice, eſpecially conſidering that groves and hill-altars were, while they did remain, both dangerous in regard of the ſecret acceſs, which people ſuperſtitiouſly given might have always thereunto with eaſe; neither could they remaining, ſerve with any fitneſs unto better purpoſe: whereas our temples (their former abuſe being by order of Law removed) are not only free from ſuch peril, but withal ſo conveniently framed for the people of God to ſerve and honour him therein, that no man beholding them can chooſe but think it exceeding great pity they ſhould be ever any otherwiſe employed. Yea but the cattle of Amalek (you will ſay) were fit for ſacrifice; and this was the very conceit which

Deut. xii. 4, 5.

which ſometime deceived Saul. It was ſo. Nor do I any thing doubt, but that Saul upon this conceit might even lawfully have offered to God thoſe reſerved ſpoils, had not the Lord in that particular caſe given ſpecial charge to the contrary. As therefore notwithſtanding the commandment of Iſrael to deſtroy Canaanites, idolaters may be converted and live; ſo the temples which have ſerved idolatry as inſtruments, may be ſanctified again and continue, albeit to Iſrael commandment have been given that they ſhould deſtroy all idolatrous places in their land, and to the good Kings of Iſrael commendation for fulfilling, to the evil for diſobeying the ſame commandment, ſometimes puniſhment, always ſharp and ſevere reproof hath even from the Lord himſelf befallen. Thus much it may ſuffice to have written in defence of thoſe Chriſtian oratories, the overthrow and ruin whereof is deſired, not now by Infidels, Pagans, or Turks, but by a ſpecial refined ſect of Chriſtian believers; pretending themſelves exceedingly grieved at our ſolemnities in erecting Churches, at the names which we ſuffer them to hold, at their form and faſhion, at the ſtatelineſs of them and coſtlineſs, at the opinion which we have of them, and at the manifold ſuperſtitious abuſes whereunto they have been put.

Of public teaching, or preaching, and the firſt kind thereof, Catechiſing.

18. Places of public reſort being thus provided for, our repair thither is eſpecially for mutual conference, and as it were commerce to be had between God and us. Becauſe therefore want [a] of the knowledge of God is the cauſe of all iniquity amongſt men, as contrariwiſe the ground of all our happineſs, and the ſeed of whatſoever perfect virtue groweth

[a] Contraria fortia in quibus homines ſibi invicem opponantur ſecundum exercitia et deſideria et opiniones, omnia proveniunt ex ignorantia: ſicut cæcus ex privatione ſui viſus vagatur ubique et læditur. Scientia veritatis tollit hominum inimicitiam et odium. Hoc promiſit ſancta Theologia dicens, Habitabit agnus cum lupo. Et aſſignat rationem, Repleta eſt terra ſapientia Domini. Moſes Ægypt. in Mor. Hannebuch. lib. iii. cap. 12.

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Luc. viii. 39. xii. 3.

Vide Tertul. de præſcr. adverſ. Hær.

[a] The Jews Catech. called Lekach Tob.

[b] Incipientibus brevius ac ſimplicius tradi præcepta magis convenit. Aut enim difficultate inſtitutionis tam numeroſæ atque perplexæ deterreri ſolent, aut eo tempore quo præcipue alenda ingenia atque indulgentia quadam enutrienda ſunt, aſperiorum rerum tractatu atteruntur. Fab. procem. l. viii. Incipientibus nobis exponere jura populi Romani, ita videntur poſſe tradi commoditiſſime,

framed according to the weak and ſlender capacity of young beginners: unto which manner of teaching principles in Chriſtianity, the Apoſtle in the ſixth to the Hebrews is himſelf underſtood to allude. For this cauſe therefore, as the Decalogue of Moſes declareth ſummarily thoſe things which we ought to do, the prayer of our Lord, whatſoever we ſhould requeſt or deſire; ſo either by the Apoſtles, or at the leaſtwiſe out of their writings, we have the ſubſtance of Chriſtian belief compendiouſly drawn into few and ſhort articles, to the end that the weakneſs of no man's wit might either hinder altogether the knowledge, or excuſe the utter ignorance of needful things. Such as were trained up in theſe rudiments, and were ſo made fit to be afterwards by baptiſm received into the Church, the Fathers uſually in their writings do term[a] hearers; as having no further communion or fellowſhip with the Church, than only this, that they were admitted to hear the principles of Chriſtian Faith made plain unto them. Catechiſing may be in ſchools, it may be in private families; but when we make it a kind of preaching, we mean always the public performance thereof in the open hearing of men; becauſe things are preached not in that they are taught, but in that they are publiſhed.

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Vide Ruff. in Symb.

diſſime, ſi primo levi ac ſimplici via, poſt deinde diligentiſſima atque exactiſſima interpretatione ſingula tradantur. Alioqui ſi ſtatim ab initio rudem adhuc et infirmum animum ſtudioſi multitudine ac varietate rerum oneraverimus, duorum alterum, aut deſertorem ſtudiorum efficiemus, aut cum magno labore ejus, ſæpe etiam cum diffidentia (quæ plerumque juvenes avertit) ſerius ad id perducemus, ad quod leviore via ductus ſine magno labore et ſine ulla diffidentia maturius perduci potuiſſet. Inſtitut. Imper. l. i. tit. 1.

[a] Tert. de pœniten. An alius eſt tinctis Chriſtus, alius audientibus? Audientes optare intinctionem non præſumere oportet. Cyprian. Epiſt. xvii. l. 3. Audientibus vigilantia veſtra non deſit. Rupert. de divin. Offic. lib. iv. cap. 18. Audiens quiſque regulam fidei Catechumenus dicitur. Catechumenus namque Auditor interpretatur.

19. Moſes

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Of Preaching, by reading publickly the books of holy Scripture, and concerning ſuppoſed untruths in thoſe tranſlations of Scripture, which we allow to be read; as alſo of the choice which we make in reading.

19. Moſes and the Prophets, Chriſt and his Apoſtles, were in their times all preachers of God's truth; ſome by word, ſome by writing, ſome by both. This they did, partly as faithful witneſſes, making mere relation what God himſelf had revealed unto them, and partly as careful expounders, teachers, perſuaders thereof. The Church in like caſe preacheth ſtill, firſt publiſhing by way of teſtimony or relation the truth which from them ſhe hath received, even in ſuch ſort as it was received, written in the ſacred volumes of Scripture; ſecondly by way of explication, diſcovering the myſteries which lie hid therein. The Church as a witneſs preacheth his mere revealed truth by reading publickly the ſacred Scripture: ſo that a ſecond kind of preaching is the reading of holy writ. For thus we may the boldlier ſpeak, being ſtrengthened with the example of ſo reverend a Prelate as ſaith, that

Acts xv. 21.

> Moſes from the time of ancient generations and ages long ſince paſt, had amongſt the cities of the very Gentiles them that preached him, in that he was read every Sabbath-day. For ſo of neceſſity it muſt be meant, in as much as we know that the Jews have always had their weekly readings of the Law of Moſes; but that they always had in like manner their weekly ſermons upon ſome part of the Law of Moſes, we no where find. Howbeit ſtill we muſt here remember, that the Church by her public reading of the book of God preacheth only as a witneſs. Now the principal thing required in a witneſs is fidelity. Wherefore as we cannot excuſe that Church, which either through corrupt tranſlations of Scripture delivereth inſtead of divine ſpeeches any thing repugnant unto that which God ſpeaketh; or, through falſified additions propoſeth that to the people of God as Scripture, which is in truth no Scripture; ſo the blame which in both theſe reſpects hath been laid upon the Church of England is ſurely altogether without cauſe. Touching tranſlations of holy

holy Scripture, albeit we may not diſallow of their painful travels herein who ſtrictly have tied themſelves to the very original letter; yet the judgment of the Church, as we ſee by the practice of all nations, Greeks, Latins, Perſians, Syrians, Æthiopians, Arabians, hath been ever, that the fitteſt for public audience are ſuch, as following a middle courſe between the rigour of literal tranſlators, and the liberty of paraphraſts, do with greateſt ſhortneſs and plainneſs deliver the meaning of the Holy Ghoſt. Which being a labour of ſo great difficulty, the exact performance thereof we may rather wiſh than look for. So that, except between the words of tranſlation and the mind of the Scripture itſelf there be contradiction, every little difference ſhould not ſeem an intolerable blemiſh neceſſarily to be ſpunged out. Whereas therefore the prophet David in a certain Pſalm doth ſay concerning Moſes and Aaron, that they were obedient to the Word of God, and in the ſelf-ſame place our allowed tranſlation ſaith, they were not obedient, we are for this cauſe challenged as manifeſt gainſayers of Scripture, even in that which we read for Scripture unto the people. But for as much as words are reſemblances of that which the mind of the ſpeaker conceiveth, and conceits are images repreſenting that which is ſpoken of; it followeth that they who will judge of words, ſhould have recourſe to the things themſelves from whence they riſe. In ſetting down that miracle, at the ſight whereof Peter fell down aſtoniſhed before the feet of Jeſus, and cried, *Depart, Lord, I am a ſinner*; the Evangeliſt St. Luke ſaith, the ſtore of the fiſh which they took was ſuch, that the net they took it in brake, and the ſhips which they loaded therewith ſunk: St. John recording the like miracle ſaith, that albeit the fiſhes in number were ſo many, yet the net with ſo great a weight was not broken. Suppoſe they had written both of one miracle; although there be in their words a manifeſt ſhew of jar, yet none, if we look

Pſal. cv. 28.

Luke v. 6, 7.

John xxi. 11.

BOOK V. look upon the difference of matter, with regard whereunto they might have both ſpoken even of one miracle, the very ſame which they ſpake of divers, the one intending thereby to ſignify that the greatneſs of the burden exceeded the natural ability of the inſtruments which they had to bear it; the other, that the weakneſs thereof was ſupported by a ſupernatural and miraculous addition of ſtrength. The nets, as touching themſelves, brake, but through the power of God they held. Are not the words of the prophet Micah touching Bethlehem, *Thou Bethlehem the leaſt?* And doth not the very Evangeliſt tranſlate theſe words, *Thou Bethlehem not the leaſt?* The one regarding the quantity of the place, the other the dignity. Micah attributeth unto it ſmallneſs in reſpect of circuit; Matthew greatneſs in regard of honour and eſtimation, by being the native ſoil of our Lord and Saviour Chriſt. Sith therefore ſpeeches which gainſay one another muſt of neceſſity be applied both unto one and the ſelf-ſame ſubject; ſith they muſt alſo the one affirm, the other deny the ſelf-ſame thing; what neceſſity of contradiction can there be between the letter of the prophet David and our authorized tranſlation thereof, if he, underſtanding Moſes and Aaron, do ſay, *They were not diſobedient*; we, applying our ſpeech to Pharaoh and the Egyptians, do ſay of them, *They were not obedient?* Or (which the matter itſelf will eaſily enough likewiſe ſuffer) if the Egyptians being meant by both, it be ſaid that they, in regard of their offer to let go the people, when they ſaw the fearful darkneſs, diſobeyed not the word of the Lord; and yet that they did not obey his word, in as much as the ſheep and cattle at the ſelf-ſame time they withheld. Of both tranſlations the better I willingly acknowledge that which cometh nearer to the very letter of the original verity; yet ſo, that the other may likewiſe ſafely enough be read, without any peril at all of gainſaying as much as the leaſt jot or ſyllable

Mich. v. 2. Matth. ii. 6.

Ex. x. 24.

ſyllable of God's moſt ſacred and precious truth. Which truth, as in this we do not violate, ſo neither is the ſame gainſayed or croſſed, no not in thoſe very preambles placed before certain readings, wherein the ſteps of the Latin Service-book have been ſomewhat too nearly followed. As when we ſay, Chriſt ſpake *to his Diſciples*, that which the Goſpel declareth he ſpake *unto the Phariſees*. For doth the Goſpel affirm he ſpake to the Phariſees only? Doth it mean that they, and beſides them no man elſe, was at that time ſpoken unto by our Saviour Chriſt? If not, then is there in this diverſity no contrariety. I ſuppoſe it ſomewhat probable, that St. John and St. Matthew, which have recorded thoſe ſermons, heard them, and being hearers did think themſelves as well reſpected as the Phariſees, in that which their Lord and Maſter taught concerning the paſtoral care he had over his own flock, and his offer of grace made to the whole world; which things are the matter whereof he treateth in thoſe ſermons. Whereof as yet there is nothing found, wherein we read for the Word of God that which may be condemned as repugnant unto his Word. Furthermore, ſomewhat they are diſpleaſed, in that we follow not the method of reading which [a] in their judgment is moſt commendable, the method uſed in ſome foreign Churches, where Scriptures are read before the time of divine ſervice, and without either choice or ſtint appointed by any determinate Order. Nevertheleſs, till ſuch time as they will vouchſafe us ſome juſt and ſufficient reaſon to the contrary, we muſt by their patience, if not allowance, retain the [b] ancient

The Goſpel on the ſecond Sunday after Eaſter, and on the twentieth after Trinity. John x. 11. Matt. xxii. 1.

[a] T. C. l. ii. p. 381. Although it be very convenient which is uſed in ſome Churches, where before preaching-time the Church aſſembled hath the Scriptures read; yet neither is this, nor any other order of bare public reading in the Church neceſſary. h. d.

[b] Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. xxii. Facto ſilentio, Scripturarum ſunt lecta divina ſolennia. That for ſeveral times ſeveral pieces of

BOOK V. received cuſtoms which we now obſerve. For with us the reading of the Scripture in the Church is a part of our Church-liturgy, a ſpecial portion of the ſervice which we do to God, and not an exerciſe to ſpend the time when one doth wait for another's coming, till the aſſembly of them which ſhall afterwards worſhip him be complete. Wherefore, as the form of our public ſervice is not voluntary, ſo neither are the parts thereof left uncertain, but they are all ſet down in ſuch order, and with ſuch choice as hath in the wiſdom of the Church ſeemed beſt to concur, as well with the ſpecial occaſions, as with the general purpoſe which we have to glorify God.

Of preaching by the public reading of other profitable inſtructions; and concerning books Apocryphal.

20. Other public readings there are of books and writings not Canonical, whereby the Church doth alſo preach, or openly make known the doctrine of virtuous converſation, whereupon, beſides thoſe things in regard whereof we are thought to read the Scriptures of God amiſs, it is thought amiſs, that we read in our Churches any thing at all beſides the Scriptures. To exclude the reading of any ſuch profitable inſtruction as the Church hath deviſed for the better underſtanding of Scripture, or for the eaſier training up of the people in holineſs and righteouſneſs of life, they [a] plead, that God in the Law

of Scripture were read as parts of the ſervice of the Greek Church, the Fathers thereof in their ſundry Homilies and other writings do all teſtify. The like order in the Syrian Churches is clear by the very inſcriptions of chapters throughout their tranſlation of the New Teſtament. See the edition at Vienna, Paris, and Antwerp.

[a] T. C. l. i. p. 196. Neither the Homilies nor the Apocrypha are at all to be read in the Church. Wherein, firſt, it is good to conſider the order which the Lord kept with his people in times paſt, when he commanded, Exod. xxx. 29, that no veſſel nor no inſtrument, either beſom or fleſh-hook or pan, ſhould once come into the Temple, but thoſe only which are ſanctified and ſet apart for that uſe. And in the book of Numbers he will have no other trumpets blown to call the people together but thoſe only which are ſet apart for that purpoſe. Numb. x. 2.

would

would have nothing brought into the Temple, neither beſoms, nor fleſh-hooks, nor trumpets, but thoſe only which were ſanctified; that for the expounding of darker places, we ought to follow the Jews' [a] polity, who under Antiochus, where they had not the commodity of ſermons, appointed always at their meetings ſomewhat out of the Prophets to be read together with the Law, and ſo by the one made the other plainer to be underſtood; that before and after our Saviour's coming they neither read Onkelos nor Jonathan's Paraphraſe, though having both, but contented themſelves with the reading only of Scripture; that if in the primitive Church there had been any thing read beſides the monuments of the Prophets and Apoſtles, Juſtin Martyr and Origen, who mention theſe, would have ſpoken of the other likewiſe; that the moſt ancient and beſt Councils forbid any thing to be read in Churches, ſaving canonical Scripture only; that when other things were afterwards permitted, fault was found with it, it ſucceeded but ill, the Bible itſelf was thereby in time quite and clean thruſt out. Which arguments, if they be only brought in token of the author's good-will and meaning towards the cauſe which they would ſet forward, muſt accordingly be accepted of by them who already are perſuaded the ſame way. But if their drift and purpoſe be to perſuade others, it would be demanded, by what rule the legal hallowing of beſoms and fleſh-hooks muſt needs exclude all other readings in the Church ſave Scripture. Things ſanctified were thereby in ſuch ſort appropriated unto God, as that they might never afterwards again be made common. For which cauſe, the Lord, to ſign and mark them as his own, appointed oil of holy ointment, the like whereunto it was not lawful to

Acts xiii. 15. Acts xv. 21. Juſtin. Apol. 2. Origen. Hom. 1. ſuper Exod. et in Judic. Conc. Laod. ca. 59. Concil. Valenſ. 2. Concil. Colon. par. 2. Exod. xxx. 25, 32.

[a] T. C. l. i. p. 197. Beſides this, the Polity of the Church of God in times paſt is to be followed, &c.

make

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make for ordinary and daily uſes. Thus the anointing of Aaron and his ſons tied them to the office of the prieſthood for ever, the anointing, not of thoſe ſilver trumpets, (which Moſes as well for ſecular as ſacred uſes was commanded to make, not to ſanctify,) but the unction of the tabernacle, the table, the laver, the altar of God, with all the inſtruments appertaining thereunto, this made them for ever holy unto him, in whoſe ſervice they were employed. But what of this? Doth it hereupon follow that all things now in the Church, from the greateſt to the leaſt, are unholy, which the Lord hath not himſelf preciſely inſtituted? for ſo [a] thoſe rudiments, they ſay, do import. Then is there nothing holy, which the Church by her authority hath appointed; and conſequently all poſitive Ordinances that ever were made by eccleſiaſtical power touching ſpiritual affairs, are profane, they are unholy. I would not wiſh them to undertake a work ſo deſperate as to prove that for the people's inſtruction no kind of reading is good, but only that which the Jews deviſed under Antiochus, although even that alſo be miſtaken. For, according to Elias the Levite, (out of whom it doth ſeem borrowed,) the thing which Antiochus forbad, was the public reading of the Law, and not ſermons upon the Law. Neither did the Jews read a portion of the Prophets together with the Law to ſerve for an interpretation thereof, becauſe ſermons were not permitted them; but inſtead of the Law, which they might not read openly, they read of the Prophets that which in likeneſs of matter came neareſt to each ſection of their Law. Whereupon, when afterwards the liberty of reading the Law was reſtored, the ſelf-ſame cuſtom as

Exod. xl. 15. Numb. x. 2. Exod. xxx. 26, 27, 28. Elias Theſb. in verbo Patar. Acts xv. 21.

[a] T. C. l. i. p. 197. The Lord would by theſe rudiments and pædagogies teach, that he would have nothing brought into the Church but that which he hath appointed.

touching

touching the Prophets did continue ſtill. If neither the Jews have uſed publickly to read their paraphraſts, nor[a] the primitive Church for a long time any other writings than Scripture, except the cauſe of their not doing it were ſome Law of God, or Reaſon forbidding them to do that which we do, why ſhould the latter ages of the Church be deprived of the liberty the former had? Are we bound while the world ſtandeth, to put nothing in practice, but only that which was at the very firſt? Concerning the Council of Laodicea, as it forbiddeth the reading of thoſe things which are not Canonical, ſo it maketh ſome things not Canonical which are. Their judgment in this we may not, and in that we need not follow. We have by thus many years' experience found, that exceeding great good, not incumbered with any notable inconvenience, hath grown by the cuſtom which we now obſerve. As for the harm whereof judicious men have complained in former times; it came not of this, that other things were read beſides the Scripture, but that ſo evil choice was made. With us there is never any time beſtowed in divine ſervice without the reading of a great part of the holy Scripture, which we account a thing moſt neceſſary. We dare not admit any ſuch form of Liturgy, as either appointeth no Scripture at all, or very little to be read in the Church. And therefore the thruſting of the Bible out of the Houſe of God, is rather there to

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Acts xiii. 15.

The Apocalypſe.

[a] T. C. l. i. p. 197. This practice continued ſtill in the Churches of God after the Apoſtles' times, as may appear by the ſecond apology of Juſtin Martyr. Idem, p. 98. It was decreed in the Council of Laodicea, that nothing ſhould be read in the Church but the Canonical books of the Old and New Teſtament. Afterwards, as corruptions grew in the Church, the reading of Homilies and of Martyrs' lives was permitted. But, beſides the evil ſucceſs thereof, that uſe and cuſtom was controlled, as may appear by the Council of Collen, albeit otherwiſe Popiſh. The bringing in of Homilies and Martyrs' lives hath thruſt the Bible clean out of the Church, or into a corner.

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Juſt. reſp. 101. Oper. p. 456. ed. Par.

[a] T. C. l. ii. p. 381. It is untrue, that ſimple reading is neceſſary in the Church. A number of Churches which have no ſuch order of ſimple reading, cannot be in this point charged with the breach of God's commandment, which they might be, if ſimple reading were neceſſary. [By ſimple reading he meaneth the cuſtom of bare reading more than the preacher at the ſame time expoundeth unto the people.]

[b] Coimus ad divinarum literarum commemorationem. Tertul. Apol.

[c] Judaicarum Hiſtoriarum libri traditi ſunt ab Apoſtolis legendi in Eccleſiis. Orig. in Joſ. Hom. 15.

[d] Πάντων κατὰ πόλεις ἢ ἀγρὺς μενόντων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσις γίνεται, καὶ τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν Ἀποστόλων ἢ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν Προφητῶν ἀναγινώσκεται. Juſtin. Apol. ii. Oper. p. 98. D. ed. Par. Factum eſt ut iſta die Dominica, Prophetica lectione jam lecta, ante altare adſtante qui lectionem S. Pauli proferret beatiſſimus Antiſtes Ambroſius, &c. Sulpit. Sever. l. 3. de vita S. Mart.

[e] Vide Concil. Val. ii. habitum an. Dom. 444. tom. Concil. ii. p. 19. Item. Synod. Laod. c. xvi. Cypr. l. ii. epiſt. 5. and l. iv. epiſt. 5. Amb. l. i. Offic. c. viii. et epiſt. 75. et lib. de Helia atque jejunio, cap. xx.

filled?

filled? In like ſort the other, *What the Old Teſtament hath, the very ſame the New containeth; but that which lieth there as under a ſhadow, is here brought forth into the open ſun. Things there prefigured, are here performed.* Again, *In the Old Teſtament there is a cloſe comprehenſion of the New; in the New, an open diſcovery of the Old.* To be ſhort, the method of their public readings either purpoſely did tend, or at the leaſtwiſe doth fitly ſerve, *That from ſmaller things the minds of the hearers may go forward to the knowledge of greater, and by degrees climb up from the loweſt to the higheſt things.* Now beſides the Scripture, the books which they called Eccleſiaſtical were thought not unworthy ſometime to be brought into public audience, and with that name they entitled the books which we term Apocryphal. Under the ſelf-ſame name they alſo compriſed certain, no otherwiſe annexed unto the New than the former unto the Old Teſtament, as a Book of Hermas, Epiſtles of Clement, and the like. According therefore to the phraſe of antiquity, theſe we may term the new, and the other the old eccleſiaſtical books or writings. For we being directed by a ſentence (I ſuppoſe) of Saint Jerom, who ſaith that *All writings not Canonical are Apocryphal*, uſe not now the title Apocryphal as the reſt of the Fathers ordinarily have done, whoſe cuſtom is ſo to name for the moſt part only ſuch as might not publickly be read or divulged. Ruffinus therefore having rehearſed the ſelf-ſame books of Canonical Scripture, which with us are held to be only Canonical, addeth immediately, by way of caution, *We muſt know that other books there are alſo which our forefathers have uſed to name not Canonical but Eccleſiaſtical books, as the Book of Wiſdom, Eccleſiaſticus, Toby, Judith, the Maccabees, in the Old Teſtament; in the New, the Book of Hermas, and ſuch others: all which books and writings they willed to be read in Churches, but not to be alleged as if their authority did bind us to build upon them our faith. Other*

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Auguſt. quæſt. 33. in Num. tom. iii. par. i. p. 542. C. ed. Par.

Walaf. Stra. de rebus Eccleſiaſt. cap. xxii.

Hieron. in prolog. Galeat.

Ruffinus in Symbol. Apoſt. apud Cypr.

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writings they named Apocryphal, which they would not have read in Churches. Theſe things delivered unto us from the Fathers we have in this place thought good to ſet down. So far Ruffinus. He which conſidereth notwithſtanding what ſtore of falſe and forged writings, dangerous unto Chriſtian belief, and yet bearing glorious inſcriptions, began ſoon upon the Apoſtles' times to be admitted into the Church, and to be honoured as if they had been indeed Apoſtolic, ſhall eaſily perceive what cauſe the provincial Synod of Laodicea might have as then to prevent eſpecially the danger of books made newly Eccleſiaſtical, and, for fear of the fraud of Heretics, to provide that ſuch public readings might be altogether taken out of the Canonical Scripture. Which Ordinance reſpecting but that abuſe which grew through the intermingling of leſſons human with ſacred, at ſuch time as the one both affected the credit and uſurped the name of the other, (as by the canon[a] of a later Council providing remedy for the ſelf-ſame evil, and yet allowing the old Eccleſiaſtical books to be read, it doth more plainly and clearly appear,) neither can be conſtrued, nor ſhould be urged utterly to prejudice our uſe of thoſe old Eccleſiaſtical writings; much leſs of homilies, which were a third kind of readings uſed in former times, a moſt commendable inſtitution, as well then to ſupply the caſual,[b] as now the neceſſary defect of ſermons. In the heat of general perſecution, whereunto Chriſtian belief was ſubject upon the firſt promulgation thereof throughout the world, it much confirmed the courage and conſtancy of weaker minds, when public relation was made unto them after

Vide Gelaſ. decret. tom. Concil. ii. p. 462.

Circa an. Dom. 366.

[a] Concil. Carthag. iii. c. 47. Præter Scripturas Canonicas nihil in Eccleſiis legatur ſub nomine divinarum ſcripturarum. Circa an. Dom. 401.

[b] Concil. Valen. ii. habitum an. Dom. 444. tom. Concil. ii. p. 19. Si Preſbyter, aliqua infirmitate prohibente, per ſeipſum non potuerit prædicare, Sanctorum Patrum Homiliæ a Diaconibus recitentur.

what

what manner God had been glorified through the ſufferings of Martyrs, famous amongſt them for holineſs during life, and at the time of their death admirable in all men's eyes through miraculous evidence of grace divine aſſiſting them from above. For which cauſe the virtues of ſome being thought expedient to be annually had in remembrance above the reſt, this brought in a fourth kind of public reading, whereby the lives of ſuch Saints and Martyrs had at the time of their yearly memorials ſolemn recognition in the Church of God. The fond imitation of which laudable cuſtom being in latter ages reſumed, where there was neither the like cauſe to do as the Fathers before had done, nor any care, conſcience, or wit in ſuch as undertook to perform that work, ſome brainleſs men have by great labour and travel brought to paſs, that the Church is now aſhamed of nothing more than of Saints. If therefore Pope Gelaſius did ſo long ſithence ſee thoſe defects of judgment, even then, for which the reading of the acts of Martyrs ſhould be, and was at that time forborne in the Church of Rome; we are not to marvel, that afterwards legends being grown in a manner to be nothing elſe but heaps of frivolous and ſcandalous vanities, they have been even with diſdain thrown out, the very neſts which bred them abhorring them. We are not therefore to except only Scripture, and to make confuſedly all the reſidue of one ſuit, as if they who aboliſh legends could not without incongruity retain in the Church either homilies or thoſe Eccleſiaſtical books. Which books in caſe myſelf did think, as ſome others do, ſafer and better to be left publickly unread; nevertheleſs as in other things of like nature, even ſo in this, [a] my private judgment I ſhould be loth to oppoſe againſt the force of their reverend authority, who rather conſidering the divine excellency of ſome things

Concil. Carthag. iii. Can. 13. et Greg. Turon. de gloria mart. ca. 86. et Hadrian. epiſt. ad Carol. Magn.

Gelaſ. circa an. Dom. 492. to. Concil. ii. p. 161.

Concil. Colon. celebrat. an. Dom. 1536. par. ii. cap. 6. Melch. Can. locor. theol. lib. xi. Viv. de trad. diſc. lib. v.

[a] In errorum barathrum faciliter ruunt qui conceptus proprios patrum definitionibus anteponunt. c. unde Relig. d. in extra.

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in all, and of all things in certain of thoſe Apocrypha which we publickly read, have thought it better to let them ſtand as a liſt or marginal border unto the Old Teſtament, and though with divine, yet as human compoſitions, to grant at the leaſt unto certain of them public audience in the Houſe of God. For in as much as the due eſtimation of heavenly truth dependeth wholly upon the known and approved authority of thoſe famous oracles of God, it greatly behoveth the Church to have always moſt ſpecial care, leſt, through confuſed mixture at any time, human uſurp the room and title of divine writings. Wherefore albeit for the people's more plain inſtruction (as the ancient uſe hath been) we read in Churches certain books beſides the Scripture, yet as the Scripture we read them not. All men know our profeſſed opinion touching the difference whereby we ſever them from the Scripture. And if any where it be ſuſpected that ſome one or other will happily miſtake a thing ſo manifeſt in every man's eye, there is no let, but that as often as thoſe books are read, and need ſo requireth, the ſtyle of their difference may expreſsly be mentioned, to bar even all poſſibility of error. It being then known, that we hold not the Apocrypha for ſacred (as we do the holy Scripture) but for human compoſitions, the ſubject whereof are ſundry divine matters; let there be reaſon ſhewed, why to read any part of them publickly it ſhould be unlawful or hurtful unto the Church of God. I hear it ſaid, that many things in them are very frivolous and unworthy of public audience; yea, many contrary, *plainly contrary to the holy Scripture*. Which hitherto is neither ſufficiently proved by him who ſaith it, and if the proofs thereof were ſtrong, yet the very allegation itſelf is weak. Let us therefore ſuppoſe, (for I will not demand to what purpoſe it is, that againſt our cuſtom of reading books not Canonical, they bring exceptions of matter in thoſe books which we never uſed to read,) ſuppoſe (I ſay) that what faults ſoever they have obſerved throughout the

Hieron. præf. ad libros Salom.

Aug. de præd. Sanct. l. i. c. 14.

Præfat. gloſſ. ord. et Lyr. ad prol. Hieron. in Tob.

T. C. l. ii. p. 400, 401.

the paſſages of all thoſe books, the ſame in every reſpect were ſuch as neither could be conſtrued, nor ought to be cenſured otherwiſe than even as themſelves pretend. Yet as men, through too much haſte, oftentimes forget the errand whereabout they ſhould go; ſo here it appeareth, that an eager deſire to rake together whatſoever might prejudice or any way hinder the credit of Apocryphal books, hath cauſed the collector's pen ſo to run as it were on wheels, that the mind which ſhould guide it had not leiſure to think, whether that which might haply ſerve to withhold from giving them the authority which belongeth unto ſacred Scripture, and to cut them off from the Canon, would as effectually ſerve to ſhut them altogether out of the Church, and to withdraw from granting unto them that public uſe wherein they are only held as profitable for inſtruction. Is it not acknowledged, that thoſe books are holy, that they are eccleſiaſtical and ſacred, that to term them divine, as being for their excellency next unto them which are properly ſo termed, is no way to honour them above deſert; yea, even that the whole Church of Chriſt, as well as at the firſt as ſithence, hath moſt worthily approved their fitneſs for the public informations of life and manners? Is not thus much, I ſay, acknowledged, and that by them, who notwithſtanding receive not the ſame for any part of the Canonical Scripture; by them who deny not but that they are faulty; by them who are ready enough to give inſtances wherein they ſeem to contain matter ſcarce agreeable with holy Scripture? So little doth ſuch their ſuppoſed faultineſs in moderate men's judgments enforce the removal of them out of the Houſe of God, that ſtill they are judged to retain worthily thoſe very titles of commendation; than which there cannot greater be given to writings, the authors whereof are men. As in truth, if the Scripture itſelf, aſcribing to the perſons of men righteouſneſs in regard of their manifold virtues, may not rightly be conſtrued as though

Harm. Confeſſ. fect. 1. Bel. con. art. 6. Lubert. de princip. Chriſt. dogm. l. i. c. 5.

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it did thereby clear them and make them quite free from all faults, no reaſon we ſhould judge it abſurd to commend their writings as reverend, holy, and ſound, wherein there are ſo many ſingular perfections, only that the exquiſite wits of ſome few, peradventure, are able diſperſedly here and there to find now a word and then a ſentence, which may be more probably ſuſpected than eaſily cleared of error by us which have but conjectural knowledge of their meaning. Againſt immodeſt invectives therefore whereby they are charged as being fraught with *outrageous lies*, we doubt not but their more allowable cenſure will prevail, who without ſuch paſſionate terms of diſgrace do note a difference great enough between Apocryphal and other writings, a difference ſuch as Joſephus and Epiphanius obſerve: the one declaring, that amongſt the Jews, books written after the days of Artaxerxes were not of equal credit with them which had gone before, in as much as the Jews ſithence that time had not the like exact ſucceſſion of prophets; the other acknowledging that they are profitable [a], although denying them to be divine, in ſuch conſtruction and ſenſe as the Scripture itſelf is ſo termed. With what intent they were firſt publiſhed thoſe words of the nephew of Jeſus do plainly enough ſignify, *After that my grandfather Jeſus had given himſelf to the reading of the Law and the Prophets, and other books of our Fathers, and had gotten therein ſufficient judgment, he purpoſed alſo to write ſomething pertaining to learning and wiſdom, to the intent that they which were deſirous to learn, and would give themſelves to theſe things, might profit much more in living according to the Law.* Their end in writing, and ours in reading them, is the ſame. The books of Judith, Tobit, Baruch, Wiſdom, and Eccleſiaſticus, we read, as ſerving moſt unto that end. The reſt

The libel of Metaphyſ. Schoolp. art. 34.

Joſeph. cont. App. lib. i.

Præfat. ad lib. Eccleſ.

[a] Epiph. in Anacyret. Χρήσιμοι μέν εἰσι καὶ ὠφέλιμοι, ἀλλ' εἰς ἀριθμὸν ἁγιῶν οὐκ ἀναφέρονται.

we leave unto men in private. Neither can it be reaſonably thought, becauſe upon certain ſolemn occaſions ſome leſſons are choſen out of thoſe books, and of Scripture itſelf ſome chapters not appointed to be read at all, that we thereby do offer diſgrace to the Word of God, or lift up the writings of men above it. For in ſuch choice we do not think, but that fitneſs of ſpeech may be more reſpected than worthineſs. If in that which we uſe to read there happen by the way any clauſe, ſentence, or ſpeech that ſoundeth towards error; ſhould the mixture of a little droſs conſtrain the Church to deprive herſelf of ſo much gold, rather than to learn how by art and judgment to make ſeparation of the one from the other? To this effect very fitly, from the counſel that St. Jerom giveth Læta, of taking heed how ſhe read the Apocrypha, as alſo by the help of other learned men's judgments delivered in like caſe, we may take direction. But ſurely the arguments that ſhould bind us not to read them, or any part of them publickly at all, muſt be ſtronger than as yet we have heard any.

Of preaching by ſermons; and whether ſermons be the only ordinary way of teaching, whereby men are brought to the ſaving knowledge of God's truth.

21. We marvel the leſs that our reading of books not Canonical is ſo much impugned, when ſo little is attributed unto the reading of Canonical Scripture itſelf, that now it hath grown to be a queſtion, whether the Word of God be any ordinary mean to ſave the ſouls of men, in that it is either privately ſtudied or publickly read, and ſo made known; or elſe only as the ſame is preached, that is to ſay, *explained by a lively voice* and applied to the people's uſe as the *ſpeaker in his wiſdom thinketh meet*. For this alone is it which they uſe to call preaching. The public reading of the Apocrypha they condemn altogether as a thing effectual unto evil; the bare reading in like ſort of whatſoever, yea even of Scriptures themſelves, they miſlike as a thing uneffectual to do that good which we are perſuaded may grow by it. Our deſire is in this preſent controverſy, as in the reſt, not to be carried up and down with the waves of uncertain arguments,

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guments, but rather positively to lead on the minds of the simpler sort by plain and easy degrees, till the very nature of the thing itself do make manifest what is truth. First therefore, because whatsoever is spoken concerning the efficacy or necessity of God's Word, the same they tie and restrain only unto sermons, howbeit not sermons read neither, (for such they also abhor in the Church,) but sermons without book, sermons which spend their life in their birth, and may have public audience but once; for this cause to avoid ambiguities wherewith they often entangle themselves, not marking what doth agree to the Word of God itself, and what in regard of outward accidents which may befall it, we are to know that the Word of God is his heavenly truth touching matters of eternal life revealed and uttered unto men, unto Prophets and Apostles by immediate divine inspiration, from them to us by their books and writings. We therefore have no Word of God but the Scripture. Apostolic sermons were unto such as heard them his Word, even as properly as to us their writings are. Howbeit not so our own sermons, the exposition which our discourse of wit doth gather and minister out of the Word of God. For which cause, in this present question we are, when we name the Word of God, always to mean the Scripture only. The end of the Word of God is to save, and therefore we term it the Word of Life. The way for all men to be saved, is by the knowledge of that truth which the Word hath taught: and sith eternal life is a thing of itself communicable unto all, it behoveth that the Word of God, the necessary mean thereunto, be so likewise. Wherefore the Word of Life hath been always a treasure, though precious, yet easy, as well to attain, as to find; lest any man desirous of life should perish through the difficulty of the way. To this end the Word of God no otherwise serveth, than only in the nature of a doctrinal instrument. It saveth, because it maketh *wise unto salvation.*

tion. Wherefore the ignorant it ſaveth not; they which live by the Word, muſt know it. And being itſelf the inſtrument which God hath purpoſely framed, thereby to work the knowledge of ſalvation in the hearts of men, what cauſe is there wherefore it ſhould not of itſelf be acknowledged a moſt apt and a likely mean to leave an apprehenſion of things divine in our underſtanding, and in the mind an aſſent thereunto? For touching the one, ſith God, who knoweth and diſcloſeth beſt the rich treaſures of his own wiſdom, hath by delivering his word made choice of the Scriptures as the moſt effectual means whereby thoſe treaſures might be imparted unto the world, it followeth, that to man's underſtanding the Scripture muſt needs be even of itſelf intended as a full and perfect diſcovery, ſufficient to imprint in us the lively character of all things neceſſarily required for the attainment of eternal life. And concerning our aſſent to the myſteries of heavenly truth, ſeeing that the Word of God, for the Author's ſake, hath credit with all that confeſs it (as we all do) to be his word, every propoſition of holy Scripture, every ſentence being to us a principle; if the principles of all kinds of knowledge elſe have that virtue in themſelves, whereby they are able to procure our aſſent unto ſuch concluſions as the induſtry of right diſcourſe doth gather from them, we have no reaſon to think the principles of that truth which tendeth unto men's everlaſting happineſs, leſs forcible than any other, when we know that of all other they are for their certainty the moſt infallible. But as every thing of price, ſo this doth require travel. We bring not the knowledge of God with us into the world; and the leſs our own opportunity or ability is that way, the more we need the help of other men's judgments to be our direction herein. Nor doth any man ever believe, into whom the doctrine of belief is not inſtilled by inſtruction, ſome way received at the firſt from others. Wherein whatſoever fit means there are

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to

BOOK V. to notify the myſteries of the Word of God, whether publickly (which we call preaching) or in private howſoever, the Word by every ſuch mean even ordinarily doth ſave, and not only by being delivered unto men in ſermons. Sermons are not the only preaching which doth ſave ſouls. For, concerning the uſe and ſenſe of this word preaching, which they ſhut up in ſo cloſe a priſon, although more than enough have already been ſpoken to redeem the liberty thereof; yet becauſe they inſiſt ſo much, and ſo proudly inſult thereon, we muſt a little inure their ears with hearing how others, whom they more regard, are in this caſe accuſtomed to uſe the ſelf-ſame language with us, whoſe manner of ſpeech they deride.

Parænet. ad Gent. p. 17. Juſtin Martyr doubteth not to tell the Grecians, that even in certain of their writings the very judgment to come is preached; nor the Council of Vaus to inſinuate, that Preſbyters, abſent through infirmity from the Churches, might be ſaid to preach by thoſe deputies who in their ſtead did but read homilies; nor the Council of Toledo to call the uſual public reading of the Goſpels in the Church, preaching; nor others, long before theſe our days, to write, that by him who but readeth a leſſon in the ſolemn aſſembly as part of divine ſervice, the very office of preaching is ſo far forth executed. Such kind of ſpeeches were then familiar, thoſe phraſes ſeemed not to them abſurd, they would have marvelled to hear the [a] outcries which we do, becauſe we think that the Apoſtles in writing, and others in reading to the Church thoſe books which the Apoſtles wrote, are neither untruly nor unfitly ſaid to preach. For although men's tongues and their pens differ, yet to one and the ſelf-ſame general, if not particular effect,

Concil. Valin. ii. c. 2.

Concil. Tol. iv. c. 11.

Repert. de Divin. Offic. l. i. c. 12, 13.

Iſid. de Eccleſ. Offic. l. i. c. 10.

[a] The Libel of Schoolp. art. 11. T. C. lib. ii. page 388. St. Paul's writing is no more preaching, than his pen or his hand is his tongue: ſeeing they cannot be the ſame, which cannot be made by the ſame inſtruments.

they

they may both ſerve. It is no good argument, St. Paul could not write with his tongue, therefore neither could he preach with his pen. For preaching is a general end whereunto writing and ſpeaking do both ſerve. Men ſpeak not with the inſtruments of writing, neither write with the inſtruments of ſpeech; and yet things recorded with the one, and uttered with the other, may be [a] preached well enough with both. By their patience therefore be it ſpoken, the Apoſtles preached as well when they wrote as when they ſpake the Goſpel of Chriſt; and our uſual public reading of the Word of God for the people's inſtruction is preaching. Nor about words would we ever contend, were not their purpoſe, in ſo reſtraining the ſame, injurious to God's moſt ſacred Word and Spirit. It is on both ſides confeſſed, that the Word of God outwardly adminiſtered (his Spirit inwardly concurring therewith) converteth, edifieth, and ſaveth ſouls. Now whereas the external adminiſtration of his Word is, as well by reading barely the Scripture, as by explaining the ſame when ſermons thereon be made; in the one, they deny that the finger of God hath ordinarily certain principal operations, which we moſt ſtedfaſtly hold and believe that it hath in both.

John vi. 45, 46. Mat. xvi. 17. 2 Cor. iv. 6. 1 Cor. xii. 3. Acts xvi. 14.

22. So worthy a part of divine ſervice we ſhould greatly wrong, if we did not eſteem preaching as the bleſſed ordinance of God, ſermons as keys to the kingdom of Heaven, as wings to the ſoul, as ſpurs to the good affections of man, unto the ſound and healthy as food, as phyſic unto diſeaſed minds. Wherefore how highly ſoever it may pleaſe them with words of truth to extol ſermons, they ſhall not herein offend us. We ſeek not to derogate from any thing which they can juſtly eſteem, but our deſire is to uphold the juſt eſtimation of that from which it ſeemeth

What they attribute to ſermons only, and what we to reading alſo.

[a] Evangelizo manu et ſcriptione. Raimol. de Rom. Eccleſ. Idol. præf. ad Co. Eſſex.

unto

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1 Theſ. v. 27. Coloſ. iv. 16.

dence. For if with reaſon we may preſume upon things which a few men's depoſitions do teſtify, ſuppoſe we that the minds of men are not, both at their firſt acceſs to the ſchool of Chriſt exceedingly moved, yea and for ever afterwards alſo confirmed much, when they conſider the main conſent of all the Churches in the whole world witneſſing the ſacred authority of Scriptures, ever ſithence the firſt publication thereof even till this preſent day and hour? And that they all have always ſo teſtified, I ſee not how we ſhould poſſibly wiſh a proof more palpable, than this manifeſt received and every where continued cuſtom of reading them publickly as the Scriptures. The reading therefore of the Word of God, as the uſe hath ever been, in open audience, is the plaineſt evidence we have of the Church's aſſent and acknowledgment that it is his Word. 3. A further commodity this cuſtom hath, which is to furniſh the very ſimpleſt and rudeſt ſort with ſuch infallible axioms and precepts of ſacred truth, delivered even in the very letter of the Law of God, as may ſerve them for rules whereby to judge the better all other doctrines and inſtructions which they hear. For which end and purpoſe I ſee not how the Scripture could be poſſibly made familiar unto all, unleſs far more ſhould be read in the people's hearing than by a ſermon can be opened. For whereas in a manner the whole book of God is by reading every year publiſhed, a ſmall part thereof, in compariſon of the whole, may hold very well the readieſt interpreter of Scripture occupied many years. 4. Beſides, wherefore ſhould any man think, but that reading itſelf is one of the ordinary means, whereby it pleaſeth God of his gracious goodneſs to inſtil that celeſtial verity which being but ſo received, is nevertheleſs effectual to ſave ſouls? Thus much therefore we aſcribe to the reading of the Word of God as the manner is in our Churches. And becauſe it were odious, if they on their part ſhould altogether deſpiſe the ſame, they yield

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John v. 39. Iſa. viii. 20.

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yield that reading may ſet forward, but not begin the work of ſalvation; that faith may be nouriſhed therewith, but not bred; that herein men's attention to the Scriptures, and their ſpeculation of the creatures of God have like efficacy, both being of power to augment, but neither to effect belief without ſermons; that if any believe by reading alone, we are to account it a miracle, an extraordinary work of God. Wherein that which they grant, we gladly accept at their hands, and wiſh that patiently they would examine how little cauſe they have to deny that which as yet they grant not. The Scripture witneſſeth, that when the book of the Law of God had been ſometime miſſing and was after found, the King, which heard it but only read, tare his clothes, and with tears confeſſed, *Great is the wrath of the Lord upon us, becauſe our fathers have not kept his Word, to do after all things which are written in this book.* This doth argue, that by bare reading (for of ſermons at that time there is no mention) true repentance may be wrought in the hearts of ſuch as fear God, and yet incur his diſpleaſure, the deſerved effect whereof is eternal death. So that their repentance (although it be not their firſt entrance) is notwithſtanding the firſt ſtep of their re-entrance into life, and may be in them wrought by the Word only read unto them. Beſides, it ſeemeth that God would have no man ſtand in doubt, but that the reading of Scripture is effectual, as well to lay even the firſt foundation, as to add degrees of farther perfection in the fear of God; and therefore the Law ſaith, *Thou ſhalt read this Law before all Iſrael, that men, women, and children may hear, yea even that their children, which as yet have not known it, may hear it*, and, by hearing it ſo read, *may learn to fear the Lord.* Our Lord and Saviour was himſelf of opinion, that they which would not be drawn to amendment of life by the teſtimony which Moſes and the Prophets hath given concerning the miſeries that follow ſinners after death, were not likely to be perſuaded

T. C. l. ii. p. 376, 377, 395. Pag. 378.

Pag. 383.

2 Chron. xxxiv. 18, 19, 21.

Deut. xxxi. 11, 12, 13.

Luke xvi. 31.

perſuaded by other means, although God from the very dead ſhould have raiſed them up preachers. Many hear the books of God, and believe them not: howbeit, their unbelief in that caſe we may not impute unto any weakneſs or inſufficiency in the mean which is uſed toward them, but to the wilful bent of their obſtinate hearts againſt it. With minds obdurate nothing prevaileth. As well they that preach, as they that read unto ſuch, ſhall ſtill have cauſe to complain with the Prophets which were of old, *Who will give credit unto our teaching?* But with whom ordinary means will prevail, ſurely the power of the Word of God, even without the help of interpreters in God's Church, worketh mightily, not unto their confirmation alone which are converted, but alſo to their converſion which are not. It ſhall not boot them who derogate from reading to excuſe it, when they ſee no other remedy, as if their intent were only to deny that aliens and ſtrangers from the family of God are won, or that belief doth uſe to be wrought at the firſt in them without ſermons. For they know it is our cuſtom of ſimple reading, not for converſion of Infidels eſtranged from the Houſe of God, but for inſtruction of men baptized, bred and brought up in the boſom of the Church, which they deſpiſe as a thing uneffectual to ſave ſuch ſouls. In ſuch they imagine that God hath no ordinary mean to work Faith without ſermons. The reaſon why no man can attain belief by the bare contemplation of heaven and earth, is, for that they neither are ſufficient to give us as much as the leaſt ſpark of light concerning the very principal myſteries of our Faith; and whatſoever we may learn by them, the ſame we can only attain to know according to the manner of natural ſciences, which mere diſcourſe of wit and reaſon findeth out; whereas the things which we properly believe be only ſuch, as are received upon the credit of divine teſtimony. Seeing therefore,

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Exod. xxiv. 7. mighty God? Reading doth convey to the mind that truth without addition or diminution, which Scripture hath derived from the Holy Ghoſt. And
John xx. 31. the end of all Scripture is the ſame which St. John propoſeth in the writing of that moſt divine Goſpel, namely Faith, and through Faith Salvation. Yea, all
Prov. i. 2, 3, 4. Scripture is to this effect in itſelf available, as they
Rom. i. 16. which wrote it were perſuaded; unleſs we ſuppoſe,
2 Tim. iii. 15. that the Evangeliſts, or others, in ſpeaking of their own intent to inſtruct and to ſave by writing, had a ſecret conceit which they never opened to any, a conceit that no man in the world ſhould ever be that way the better for any ſentence by them written, till ſuch time as the ſame might chance to be preached upon, or alleged at the leaſt in a ſermon. Otherwiſe, if he which writeth doth that which is forcible in itſelf, how ſhould he which readeth be thought

thought to do that which in itſelf is of no force to work belief, and to ſave believers? Now, although we have very juſt cauſe to ſtand in ſome jealouſy and fear, leaſt, by thus overvaluing their ſermons, they make the price and eſtimation of Scripture, otherwiſe notified, to fall; nevertheleſs ſo impatient they are, that being but requeſted to let us know what cauſes they leave for men's encouragement to attend to the reading of the Scripture, if ſermons only be the power of God to ſave every one which believeth; that which we move for our better learning and inſtruction ſake, turneth unto anger and choler in them, they grow altogether out of quietneſs with it; they anſwer fumingly, that they are *aſhamed to defile their pens by making anſwer to ſuch idle queſtions:* yet in this their mood they caſt forth ſomewhat, wherewith under pain of greater diſpleaſure we muſt reſt contented. They tell us, the profit of reading is ſingular, in that it ſerveth for a preparative unto ſermons; it helpeth prettily towards the nouriſhment of Faith, which ſermons have once engendered; it is ſome ſtay to his mind which readeth the Scripture, when he findeth the ſame things there which are taught in ſermons, and thereby perceiveth how God doth concur in opinion with the preacher; beſides, it keepeth ſermons in memory, and doth in that reſpect, although not feed the ſoul of man, yet help the retentive force of that ſtomach of the mind which receiveth ghoſtly food at the preacher's hands. But the principal cauſe of writing the Goſpel was, that it might be preached upon or interpreted by public miniſters apt and authorized thereunto. Is it credible that a ſuperſtitious conceit (for it is no better) concerning ſermons, ſhould in ſuch ſort both darken their eyes, and yet ſharpen their wits withal, that the only true and weighty cauſe why Scripture was written, the cauſe which in Scripture is ſo often mentioned, the cauſe which all

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T. C. l. ii. p. 375.

BOOK V. all men have ever till this preſent day acknowledged, this they ſhould clean exclude, as being no cauſe at all, and load us with ſo great ſtore of ſtrange concealed cauſes, which did never ſee light till now? In which number the reſt muſt needs be of moment, when the very chiefeſt cauſe of committing the ſacred Word of God unto books, is ſurmiſed to have been, leſt the preacher ſhould want a text whereupon to ſcholy. Men of learning hold it for a ſlip in judgment, when offer is made to demonſtrate that as proper to one thing, which Reaſon findeth common unto more. Whereas therefore they take from all kind of teachings, that which they attribute to ſermons, it had been their part to yield directly ſome ſtrong reaſon, why between ſermons alone and Faith there ſhould be ordinarily that coherence which cauſes have with their uſual effects, why a Chriſtian man's belief ſhould ſo naturally grow from ſermons, and not poſſibly from any other kind of teaching. In belief there being but theſe two operations, apprehenſion and aſſent, do only ſermons cauſe belief, in that no other way is able to explain the myſteries of God, that the mind may rightly apprehend or conceive them as behoveth? We all know that many things are believed although they be intricate, obſcure, and dark, although they exceed the reach and capacity of our wits, yea although in this world they be no way poſſible to be underſtood. Many things believed are likewiſe ſo plain, that every common perſon may therein be unto himſelf a ſufficient expounder. Finally, to explain even thoſe things which need and admit explication, many other uſual ways there are beſides ſermons. Therefore ſermons are not the only ordinary means whereby we firſt come to apprehend the myſteries of God. Is it in regard then of ſermons only, that apprehending of the Goſpel of Chriſt, we yield thereunto our unfeigned aſſent, as to a thing infallibly true? They which rightly

rightly conſider after what ſort the heart of man hereunto is framed, muſt of neceſſity acknowledge, that whoſo aſſenteth to the words of eternal life, doth it in regard of his authority whoſe words they are. This is in man's converſion unto God, τὸ ὅθεν ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κινήσεως, the firſt ſtep whereat his race towards Heaven beginneth. Unleſs therefore, clean contrary to our own experience, we ſhall think it a miracle, if any man acknowledge the divine authority of the Scripture till ſome ſermon have perſuaded him thereunto, and that otherwiſe neither converſation in the boſom of the Church, nor religious education, nor the reading of learned men's books, nor information received by conference, nor whatſoever pain and diligence in hearing, ſtudying, meditating day and night on the Law, is ſo far bleſt of God as to work this effect in any man; how would they have us to grant, that Faith doth not come but only by hearing ſermons? Fain they would have us to believe the Apoſtle Saint Paul himſelf to be author of this their paradox, only becauſe he hath ſaid, that *it pleaſeth God by the fooliſhneſs of preaching to ſave them which believe*; and again, *How ſhall they call on him in whom they have not believed? How ſhall they believe in him of whom they have not heard? How ſhall they hear without a preacher? How ſhall men preach except they be ſent?* To anſwer therefore both allegations at once; the very ſubſtance of what they contain is in few but this. Life and ſalvation God will have offered unto all; his will is that Gentiles ſhould be ſaved as well as Jews. Salvation belongeth unto none but ſuch *as call upon the name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt*. Which nations as yet unconverted neither do, nor poſſibly can do till they believe. What they are to believe, impoſſible it is they ſhould know till they hear it. Their hearing requireth our preaching unto them. Tertullian, to draw even Paynims themſelves unto Chriſtian belief, willeth the books of the Old Teſtament to be ſearched, which were at that time in Ptolemy's library. And if men

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T. C. l. ii. P. 375.

1 Cor. i. 21.

Rom. x. 14, 15.

BOOK V. did not lift to travel ſo far, though it were for their endleſs good, he addeth that in Rome and other places the Jews had ſynagogues, whereunto every one which would might reſort; that this kind of liberty they purchaſed by payment of a ſtanding tribute; that there they did openly read [a] the Scriptures; and whoſoever *will hear*, (ſaith Tertullian,) *he ſhall find God; whoſoever will ſtudy to know, ſhall be alſo fain to believe.* But ſith there is no likelihood that ever voluntarily they will ſeek inſtruction at our hands, it remaineth that, unleſs we will ſuffer them to periſh, ſalvation itſelf muſt ſeek them; it behoveth God to ſend them preachers as he did his elect Apoſtles throughout the world. There is a knowledge which God hath always revealed unto them in the works of nature. This they honour and eſteem highly as profound wiſdom; howbeit this wiſdom ſaveth them not. That which muſt ſave believers is *the knowledge of the croſs of Chriſt*, the only ſubject of all our preaching. And in their eyes what ſeemeth this but folly? It pleaſeth God by *the fooliſhneſs of preaching* to ſave. Theſe words declare how admirable force theſe myſteries have which the world do deride as follies; they ſhew that the fooliſhneſs of the croſs of Chriſt is the wiſdom of true believers; they concern the object of our faith, the matter preached of, [b] and believed in by Chriſtian men. This we know that the Grecians or Gentiles did account fooliſhneſs; but that they did ever think it a fond or unlikely way to ſeek men's converſion by ſermons, we have not heard. Manifeſt therefore it is, that the Apoſtle, ap-

[a] Apologet. This they did in a tongue which to all learned men amongſt the Heathens, and to a great part of the ſimpleſt, was familiarly known; as appeareth by a ſupplication offered unto the Emperor Juſtinian, wherein the Jews made requeſt that it might be lawful for them to read the Greek tranſlations of the LXX Interpreters in their Synagogues, as their cuſtom before had been. Authent. cxlvi. Col 10. incipit, Æquum ſane.

[b] The Apoſtle uſeth the word κήρυγμα, and not κήρυξις.

plying

plying the name of *fooliſhneſs* in ſuch ſort as they did, must needs, by the *fooliſhneſs of preaching*, mean the doctrine of Chriſt which we learn that we may be ſaved; but that ſermons are the only manner of teaching whereby it pleaſeth our Lord to ſave, he could not mean. In like ſort, where the ſame Apoſtle proveth that as well the ſending of the Apoſtles, as their preaching to the Gentiles, was neceſſary, dare we affirm it was ever his meaning, that unto their ſalvation, who even from their tender infancy never knew any other Faith or Religion than only Chriſtian, no kind of teaching can be available ſaving that which was ſo needful for the firſt univerſal converſion of Gentiles hating Chriſtianity; neither the ſending of any ſort allowable in the one caſe, except only of ſuch as had been in the other alſo moſt fit and worthy inſtruments? Belief in all ſorts doth come by hearkening and attending to the Word of life, which Word ſometime propoſeth and preacheth itſelf to the hearer; ſometime they deliver it, whom privately zeal and piety moveth to be inſtructors of others by conference; ſometime of them it is taught, whom the Church hath called to the public either reading thereof, or interpreting. All theſe tend unto one effect, neither doth that which St. Paul or other Apoſtles teach concerning the neceſſity of ſuch teachings as theirs was, or of ſending ſuch as they were for that purpoſe unto the Gentiles, prejudice the efficacy of any other way of public inſtruction, or enforce the utter diſability of any other men's vocation thought requiſite in this Church for the ſaving of ſouls, where means more effectual are wanting. Their only proper and direct proof of the thing in queſtion had been to ſhew, in what ſort, and how far man's ſalvation doth neceſſarily depend upon the Word of God; what conditions, properties, and qualities there are, whereby ſermons are diſtinguiſhed from other kinds of adminiſtering the Word unto that purpoſe; and what ſpecial property or quality that

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is, which being no where found but in ſermons, maketh them effectual to ſave ſouls, and leaveth all other doctrinal means beſides deſtitute of vital efficacy. Theſe pertinent inſtructions, whereby they might ſatisfy us and obtain the cauſe itſelf for which they contend, theſe things which only would ſerve, they leave; and (which needeth not) ſometime they trouble themſelves with fretting at the ignorance of ſuch as withſtand them in their opinion; ſometime they [a] fall upon their poor brethren which can but read, and againſt them they are bitterly eloquent. If we allege what the Scriptures themſelves do uſually ſpeak for the ſaving force of the Word of God, not with reſtraint to any one certain kind of delivery, but howſoever the ſame ſhall chance to be made known, yet by one trick or other they always reſtrain it unto ſermons. Our Lord and Saviour hath ſaid, *Search the Scriptures, for in them ye think to have eternal life.* But they tell us he ſpake to the Jews, which Jews before had heard his ſermons; and that peradventure it was his mind they ſhould ſearch, not by reading nor by hearing them read, but by attending whenſoever the Scriptures ſhould happen to be alleged in ſermons. Furthermore, having received Apoſtolical doctrine, the Apoſtle St. Paul hath taught us to eſteem the ſame as the ſupreme rule whereby all other doctrines muſt for ever be examined. Yea, but in as much as the Apoſtle doth here ſpeak of that he had preached, he flatly maketh (as they ſtrangely affirm) his preachings or ſermons the rule whereby to examine all. And then, I beſeech you, what rule have we whereby to judge or examine any? For if ſermons muſt be our rule, becauſe the Apoſtles' ſermons were ſo to their hearers; then, ſith we are not as they were, hearers of the Apoſtles' ſermons, it reſteth that either the ſermons

T. C. l. ii. p. 37.

John v. 39.

Gal. i. 8, 9.

[a] T. C. l. ii. p. 373. This tail of readers. The Biſhops' more than beggarly preſents. Thoſe raſcal miniſters.

which

which we hear ſhould be our rule, or (that being abſurd) there will (which yet hath greater abſurdity) no rule at all be remaining for trial what doctrines now are corrupt, what conſonant with heavenly truth. Again, let the ſame Apoſtle acknowledge all Scripture profitable to teach, to improve, to correct, to inſtruct in righteouſneſs; ſtill notwithſtanding we err, if hereby we preſume to gather, that Scripture read will avail unto any one of all theſe uſes: they teach us the meaning of the words to be, that ſo much the Scripture can do, if the miniſter that way apply it in his ſermons, otherwiſe not. Finally they never hear a ſentence which mentioneth the Word or Scripture, but forthwith their gloſſes upon it are, the Word preached, the Scripture explained or delivered unto us in ſermons. Sermons they evermore underſtand to be that Word of God, which alone hath vital operation: the dangerous ſequel of which conſtruction I wiſh they did more attentively weigh. For, ſith ſpeech is the very image whereby the mind and ſoul of the ſpeaker conveyeth itſelf into the boſom of him which heareth, we cannot chooſe but ſee great reaſon wherefore the Word that proceedeth from God, who is himſelf very truth and life, ſhould be (as the Apoſtle to the Hebrews noteth) lively and mighty in operation, *ſharper than any two-edged ſword*. Now if in this and the like places we did conceive that our own ſermons are that ſtrong and forcible Word, ſhould we not hereby impart even the moſt peculiar glory of the Word of God unto that which is not his Word? For, touching our ſermons, that which giveth them their very being is the wit of man, and therefore they oftentimes accordingly taſte too much of that over-corrupt fountain from which they come. In our ſpeech of moſt holy things, our moſt frail affections many times are bewrayed. Wherefore when we read or recite the Scripture, we then deliver to the people properly the Word of God. As for our ſermons, be they never ſo ſound and perfect,

2 Tim. iii. 16.

Heb. iv. 12.

his

BOOK V. his Word they are not as the ſermons of the Prophets were; no, they are but ambiguouſly termed his Word, becauſe his Word is commonly the ſubject whereof they treat, and muſt be the rule whereby they are framed. Notwithſtanding, by theſe and the like ſhifts they derive unto ſermons alone whatſoever is generally ſpoken concerning the Word. Again, what ſeemeth to have been uttered concerning ſermons, or their efficacy or neceſſity in regard of divine matter, and muſt conſequently be verified in ſundry other kinds of teaching if the matter be the ſame in all; their uſe is to faſten every ſuch ſpeech unto that one only manner of teaching which is by ſermons, that ſtill ſermons may be all in all. Thus, becauſe Solomon declareth that the *people* decay, *or periſh, for want of knowledge*, where no propheſying at all is, they gather, that the hope of life and ſalvation is cut off, where preachers are not which propheſy by ſermons, how many ſoever they be in number that read daily the Word of God, and deliver, though in other ſort, the ſelf-ſame matter which ſermons do. The people which have no way to come to the knowledge of God, no propheſying, no teaching, periſh. But that they ſhould of neceſſity periſh, where any one way of knowledge lacketh, is more than the words of Solomon impart. Another uſual point of their art in this preſent queſtion, is to make very large and plentiful diſcourſes how Chriſt is by ſermons lifted up higher and more apparent to the eye of Faith, how the ſavour of the Word is more ſweet, being brayed, and more able to nouriſh, being divided by preaching, than by only reading propoſed; how ſermons are the keys of the kingdom of Heaven and do open the Scriptures, which being but read, remain in compariſon ſtill claſped; how God giveth richer increaſe of grace to the ground that is planted and watered by preaching, than by bare and ſimple reading. Out of which premiſes declaring how attainment

T. C. l. ii. p. 391. Prov. xxix. 18.

T. C. l. ii. p. 379. Joh. iii. 14. 2 Cor. ii. 14, 15, 16. 2 Tim. ii. 15. Matth. xvi. 19.

1 Cor. iii. 6.

tainment unto life is eaſier where ſermons are, they conclude an [a] impoſſibility thereof where ſermons are not. Alcidamas the Sophiſter hath many arguments to prove that voluntary and extemporal, far excelleth premeditated ſpeech. The like whereunto, and in part the ſame, are brought by them who commend ſermons, as having (which all men, I think, will acknowledge) ſundry peculiar and proper virtues, ſuch as no other way of teaching beſides hath. Aptneſs to follow particular occaſions preſently growing, to put life into words by countenance, voice, and geſture, to prevail mightily in the ſudden affections of men, this ſermons may challenge. Wherein notwithſtanding ſo eminent properties whereof leſſons are haply deſtitute, yet leſſons being free from ſome inconveniences whereunto ſermons are more ſubject, they may in this reſpect no leſs take, than in other they might give the hand which betokeneth preeminence. For there is nothing which is not ſome way excelled, even by that which it doth excel. Sermons therefore and leſſons may each excel other in ſome reſpects without any prejudice unto either, as touching that vital force which they both have in the work of our ſalvation. To which effect, when we have endeavoured as much as in us doth lie to find out the ſtrongeſt cauſes, wherefore they ſhould imagine that reading is itſelf ſo unavailable, the moſt we can learn at their hands is, that ſermons are the Ordinance of God, the Scriptures dark, and the labour of reading eaſy. Firſt, therefore, as we know that God doth aid with his grace, and by his ſpecial providence evermore bleſs with happy ſucceſs, thoſe things which himſelf appointeth; ſo his Church, we perſuade ourſelves, he hath not in ſuch ſort given over to a reprobate ſenſe, that whatſoever it deviſeth for the good of the ſouls of men, the ſame he doth

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T. C. l. ii. p. 394.

T. C. l. ii. p. 396.

[a] T. C. l. ii. No ſalvation to be looked for, where no preaching is.

ſtill

BOOK V. ſtill accurſe and make fruſtrate. Or if he always did defeat the Ordinances of his Church, is not reading the Ordinance of God? Wherefore then ſhould we think that the force of his ſecret grace is accuſtomed to bleſs the labour of dividing his Word according unto each man's private diſcretion in public ſermons, and to withdraw itſelf from concurring with the public delivery thereof by ſuch ſelected portions of Scriptures, as the whole Church hath ſolemnly appointed to be read for the people's good, either by ordinary courſe, or otherwiſe, according to the exigence of ſpecial occaſions? Reading (ſaith Iſidore) is to the hearers no ſmall edifying. To them whoſe delight and meditation is in the Law, ſeeing that happineſs and bliſs belongeth, it is not in us to deny them the benefit of heavenly grace. And I hope we may preſume that a rare thing it is not in the Church of God, even for that very Word which is read to be both preſently their joy, and afterwards their ſtudy that hear it. St. Auguſtine ſpeaking of devout men noteth how they daily frequented the Church, how attentive ear they gave unto the leſſons and chapters read, how careful they were to remember the ſame, and to muſe thereupon by themſelves. St. Cyprian obſerveth, [a] that reading was not without effect in the hearts of men. Their joy and alacrity was to him an argument that there is in this Ordinance a bleſſing, ſuch as ordinarily doth accompany the adminiſtration of the Word of life. It were much if there ſhould be ſuch a difference between the hearing of ſermons preached, and of leſſons read in the Church, that he which preſenteth himſelf at the one, and maketh his prayer with the prophet David, *Teach me, O Lord, the way of thy ſtatutes, direct me in the way of thy command-*

Deut. xxxi. 11, 12, 13.

De Eccleſ. Offic. l. ii. c. 10.

Pſal. i. 2.

Pſal. cxix. 16.

Aug. in Pſal lxvi.

Pſal. cxix. 33, 35.

[a] Cyprian. l. ii. Epiſt. 5. Lector perſonat verba ſublimia. Evangelium Chriſti legis a fratribus conſpicitur, cum gaudio fraternitatis auditur.

ments,

ments, might have the ground of uſual experience whereupon to build his hope of prevailing with God, and obtaining the grace he ſeeketh; they contrariwiſe not ſo, who crave the like aſſiſtance of his Spirit, when they give ear to the reading of the other. In this therefore preaching and reading are equal, that both are approved as his Ordinances, both aſſiſted with his grace. And if his grace do aſſiſt them both to the nouriſhment of Faith already bred, we cannot, without ſome very manifeſt cauſe yielded, imagine that in breeding or begetting Faith, his grace doth cleave to the one, and utterly forſake the other. Touching hardneſs, which is the ſecond pretended impediment, as againſt homilies, being plain and popular inſtructions, it is no bar, ſo neither doth it infringe the efficacy, no not of Scriptures, although but read. The force of reading, how ſmall ſoever they will have it, muſt of neceſſity be granted ſufficient to notify that which is plain or eaſy to be underſtood. And of things neceſſary to all men's ſalvation, we have been hitherto accuſtomed to hold (eſpecially ſithence the publiſhing of the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, whereby the ſimpleſt having now a key unto knowledge which the Eunuch in the Acts did want, our children may of themſelves by reading underſtand that which he without an interpreter could not) they are in Scripture plain and eaſy to be underſtood. As for thoſe things which at the firſt are obſcure and dark, when memory hath laid them up for a time, judgment afterwards growing, explaineth them. Scripture therefore is not ſo hard, but that the only reading thereof may give life unto willing hearers. The eaſy performance of which holy labour is, in like ſort, a very cold objection to prejudice the virtue thereof. For what though an infidel, yea, though a child may be able to read; there is no doubt, but the meaneſt and worſt amongſt the people under the Law had been as able as the prieſts themſelves were to offer ſacrifice; did this

T. C. l. ii. p. 383, 384, 392.

Acts viii. 31.

make

BOOK V. make ſacrifice of no effect unto that purpoſe for which it was inſtituted? In Religion ſome duties are not commended ſo much by the hardneſs of their execution, as by the worthineſs and dignity of that acceptation wherein they are held with God. We admire the goodneſs of God in Nature, when we conſider how he hath provided, that things moſt needful to preſerve this life ſhould be moſt prompt and eaſy for all living creatures to come by. Is it not as evident a ſign of his wonderful providence over us, when the food of eternal life, upon the utter want whereof, our endleſs death and deſtruction neceſſarily enſueth, is prepared and always ſet in ſuch a readineſs, that thoſe very means, than which nothing is more eaſy, may ſuffice to procure the ſame? Surely, if we periſh, it is not the lack of ſcribes and learned expounders that can be our juſt excuſe. The Word which ſaveth our ſouls is near us; we need for knowledge but to read and live. Apoc. i. 3. The man which readeth the Word of God, the Word itſelf doth pronounce bleſſed, if he alſo obſerve the ſame. Now all theſe things being well conſidered, it ſhall be no intricate matter for any man to judge with indifferency on which part the good of the Church is moſt conveniently ſought; whether on ours, whoſe opinion is ſuch as hath been ſhewed, or elſe on theirs, who leaving no ordinary way of ſalvation for them unto whom the Word of God is but only read, do ſeldom name them but with great diſdain and contempt who execute that ſervice T. C. l. ii. p. 363, 373 in the Church of Chriſt. By means whereof it hath come to paſs, that Churches which cannot enjoy the benefit of uſual preaching, are judged as it were even forſaken of God, forlorn, and without either hope or comfort: contrariwiſe, thoſe places which every day, for the moſt part, are at ſermons as the flowing ſea, do by their emptineſs at times of reading, and by other apparent tokens ſhew to the voice of the living God, this way ſounding in the ears of men,

men, a great deal leſs reverence than were meet. But if no other evil were known to grow thereby, who can chooſe but think them cruel which doth hear them ſo boldly teach, that if God (as to him there is nothing impoſſible) do haply ſave any ſuch as continue where they have all other means of inſtruction, but are not taught by continual preaching, yet this is miraculous, and more than the fitneſs of ſo poor inſtruments can give any man cauſe to hope for; that Sacraments are not effectual to ſalvation, except men be inſtructed by preaching before they be made partakers of them; yea, that both Sacraments and prayers alſo, where ſermons are not, *do not only not feed, but are ordinarily to further condemnation*; what man's heart doth not riſe at the mention of theſe things? It is true, that the weakneſs of our wits, and the dulneſs of our affections do make us, for the moſt part, even as our Lord's own Diſciples were for a certain time, hard and ſlow to believe what is written. For help whereof expoſitions and exhortations are needful, and that in the moſt effectual manner. The principal Churches throughout the land, and no ſmall part of the reſt, being in this reſpect by the goodneſs of God ſo abundantly provided for, they which want the like furtherance unto knowledge, wherewith it were greatly to be deſired that they alſo did abound, are yet, we hope, not left in ſo extreme deſtitution, that juſtly any man ſhould think the ordinary means of eternal life taken from them, becauſe their teaching is in public for the moſt part but by reading. For which cauſe, amongſt whom there are not thoſe helps that others have to ſet them forward in the way of life, ſuch to diſhearten with fearful ſentences, as though their ſalvation could hardly be hoped for, is not in our underſtanding ſo conſonant with Chriſtian charity. We hold it ſafer a great deal, and better to give them encouragement; to put them in mind, that it is not the deepneſs of their knowledge, but the ſingleneſs of their belief, which God accepteth; that they

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Pag. 364, 375, 380, 383, 384.

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Eccluſ. li. 26, 27. Matth. xii. 20. 1 Tim. i. 5. Rom. xiv. 1. 1 Theſ. iii. 10.

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they which *hunger and thirſt after righteouſneſs, ſhall be ſatisfied*; that no imbecility of means can prejudice the truth of the promiſe of God herein; that the weaker their helps are, the more their need is to ſharpen the edge of their own induſtry; and that painfulneſs by feeble means ſhall be able to gain that, which in the plenty of more forcible inſtruments is through ſloth and negligence loſt. As for the men, with whom we have thus far taken pains to confer about the force of the Word of God, either read by itſelf or opened in ſermons, their ſpeeches concerning both the one and the other are in truth ſuch, as might give us very juſt cauſe to think that the reckoning is not great which they make of either. For howſoever they have been driven to deviſe ſome odd kind of blind uſes whereunto they may anſwer that reading doth ſerve, yet the reading of the Word of God in public, more than their preachers' bare text, who will not judge that they deem needleſs, when if we chance at any time to term it neceſſary, as being a thing which God himſelf did inſtitute amongſt the Jews for purpoſes that touch as well us as them; a thing which the Apoſtles commend under the Old, and ordain under the New Teſtament; a thing whereof the Church of God hath ever ſithence the firſt beginning reaped ſingular commodity; a thing which without exceeding great detriment no Church can omit, they only are the men, that ever we heard of, by whom this hath been croſſed and gainſaid; they only the men which have given their peremptory ſentence to the contrary: *It is untrue that ſimple reading is neceſſary in the Church.* And why untrue? *Becauſe, although it be very convenient which is uſed in ſome Churches, where before preaching-time the Church aſſembled hath the Scriptures read in ſuch order, that the whole canon thereof is oftentimes in one year run through; yet a number of Churches which have no ſuch order of ſimple reading, cannot be in this point charged with breach of God's commandment, which they might be, if ſimple*

Matt. v. 6. Phil. i. 6. 1 Pet. v. 10. Matt. iii. 9. 1 Theſ. iv. 18. Heb. x. 24. Jude ver. 20, 21. 1 Pet. iv. 10. Luke xi. 31.

T. C. l. ii. p. 381.

ſimple reading were neceſſary. A poor, a cold, and an hungry cavil! Shall we therefore to pleaſe them change the word *neceſſary*, and ſay, that it hath been a commendable order, a cuſtom very expedient, or an ordinance moſt profitable, (whereby they know right well that we mean exceedingly behoveful,) to read the Word of God at large in the Church, whether it be as our manner is, or as theirs is, whom they prefer before us? It is not this that will content or ſatisfy their minds. They have againſt it a marvellous deep and profound axiom, that *Two things to one and the ſame end cannot but very improperly be ſaid moſt profitable.* And therefore if preaching be moſt profitable to man's ſalvation, then is not reading; if reading be, then preaching is not. Are they reſolved then at the leaſtwiſe, if preaching be the only ordinary mean whereby it pleaſeth God to ſave our ſouls, what kind of preaching it is which doth ſave? Underſtand they, how or in what reſpect there is that force or virtue in preaching? We have reaſon wherefore to make theſe demands; for that, although their pens run all upon preaching and ſermons, yet when themſelves do practiſe that whereof they write, they change their dialect, and thoſe words they ſhun as if there were in them ſome ſecret ſting. It is not their phraſe to ſay they preach, or to give to their own inſtructions and exhortations the name of ſermons; the pain they take themſelves in this kind is either opening, or lecturing, or reading, or exerciſing, but in no caſe preaching. And in this preſent queſtion, they alſo warily proteſt that what they aſcribe to the virtue of preaching, they ſtill mean it of good preaching. Now one of them ſaith that a good ſermon muſt expound and apply a large portion of the text of Scripture at one time. Another giveth us to underſtand, that ſound preaching *is not to do as one did at London, who ſpent moſt of his time in invectives againſt good men, and told his audience how the magiſtrate ſhould have an eye to ſuch as troubled the peace of the Church.*

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T. C. l. ii. p. 372.

T. C. l. ii. p. 385.

Complaint of the Commonalty.

Dr. Somes, Painter. p. 21.

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Church. The beſt of them hold it for no good preaching, *when a man endeavoureth to make a glorious ſhew of eloquence and learning, rather than to apply himſelf to the capacity of the ſimple.* But let them ſhape us out a good preacher by what pattern ſoever pleaſeth them beſt, let them exclude and incloſe whom they will with their definitions, we are not deſirous to enter into any contention with them about this, or to abate the conceit they have of their own ways, ſo that when once we are agreed what ſermons ſhall currently paſs for good, we may at length underſtand from them, what that is in a good ſermon which doth make it the Word of Life unto ſuch as hear. If ſubſtance of matter, evidence of things, ſtrength and validity of arguments and proofs, or if any other virtue elſe which words and ſentences may contain; of all this, what is there in the beſt ſermons being uttered, which they loſe by being read? But they utterly deny that the reading either of Scriptures, or homilies and ſermons, can ever by the ordinary grace of God ſave any ſoul. So that although we had all the ſermons word for word which James, Paul, Peter, and the reſt of the Apoſtles made, ſome one of which ſermons was of power to convert thouſands of the hearers unto Chriſtian Faith; yea, although we had all the inſtructions, exhortations, conſolations which came from the gracious lips of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt himſelf, and ſhould read them ten thouſand times over, to Faith and Salvation no man could hope hereby to attain. Whereupon it muſt of neceſſity follow, that the vigour and vital efficacy of ſermons doth grow from certain accidents, which are not in them, but in their Maker: his virtue, his geſture, his countenance, his zeal, the motion of his body, and the inflection of his voice, who firſt uttereth them as his own, is that which giveth them the form, the nature, the very eſſence of inſtruments available to eternal life. If they like neither that nor this, what remaineth but that their final concluſion be, *Sermons we know*

T. C. l. ii. p. 385.

know are the only ordinary means to Salvation, but why or how we cannot tell? Wherefore to end this tedious controverſy, wherein the too great importunity of our over-eager adverſaries hath conſtrained us much longer to dwell, than the barrenneſs of ſo poor a cauſe could have ſeemed at the firſt likely either to require or to admit, if they which without partialities and paſſions are accuſtomed to weigh all things and accordingly to give their ſentence, ſhall here ſit down to receive our audit, and to caſt up the whole reckoning on both ſides, the ſum which truth amounteth unto will appear to be but this; that as medicines, provided of nature and applied by art for the benefit of bodily health, take effect ſometime under and ſometime above the natural proportion of their virtue, according as the mind and fancy of the patient doth more or leſs concur with them, ſo, whether we barely read unto men the Scriptures of God, or by homilies concerning matter of belief and converſation ſeek to lay before them the duties which they owe unto God and man; whether we deliver them books to read and conſider of in private at their own beſt leiſure, or call them to the hearing of ſermons publickly in the Houſe of God; albeit every of theſe and the like unto theſe means do truly and daily effect that in the hearts of men for which they are each and all meant; yet the operation which they have in common being moſt ſenſibly and moſt generally noted in one kind above the reſt, that one hath in ſome men's opinions drowned altogether the reſt, and injuriouſly brought to paſs that they have been thought, not leſs effectual than the other, but without the other uneffectual to ſave ſouls. Whereas the cauſe why ſermons only are obſerved to prevail ſo much, while all means elſe ſeem to ſleep and do nothing, is in truth but that ſingular affection and attention which the people ſheweth every where towards the one, and their cold diſpoſition to the other; the reaſon hereof being partly the art which our adverſaries

BOOK V. uſe for the credit of their ſermons, to bring men out of conceit with all other teaching beſides; partly a cuſtom which men have to let thoſe things careleſsly paſs by their ears which they have oftentimes heard before, or know they may hear again, whenever it pleaſeth themſelves; partly the eſpecial advantages which ſermons naturally have to procure attention, both in that they come always new, and becauſe by the hearer it is ſtill preſumed, that if they be let ſlip for the preſent, what good ſoever they contain is loſt, and that without all hope of recovery. This is the true cauſe of odds between ſermons and other kinds of wholeſome inſtruction. As for the difference which hath been hitherto ſo much defended on the contrary ſide, making ſermons the only ordinary means unto faith and eternal life, ſith this hath neither evidence of truth, nor proof ſufficient to give it warrant, a cauſe of ſuch quality may with far better grace and conveniency aſk that pardon, which common humanity doth eaſily grant, than claim, in challenging manner, that aſſent, which is as unwilling, when reaſon guideth it, to be yielded where it is not, as withheld where it is apparently due. All which notwithſtanding, as we could greatly wiſh that the rigour of this their opinion were allayed and mitigated; ſo, becauſe we hold it the part of religious ingenuity to honour virtue in whomſoever, therefore it is our moſt hearty deſire, and ſhall always be our prayer unto Almighty God, that in the ſelf-ſame fervent zeal wherewith they ſeem to affect the good of the ſouls of men, and to thirſt after nothing more than that all men might by all means be directed in the way of life, both they and we may conſtantly perſiſt to the world's end. For in this we are not their adverſaries, though they in the other hitherto have been ours.

Of Prayer. 23. Between the throne of God in Heaven, and his Church upon earth here militant, if it be ſo that Angels have their continual intercourſe, where ſhould

we

we find the ſame more verified than in thoſe two ghoſtly exerciſes, the one Doctrine, and the other Prayer? For what is the aſſembling of the Church to learn, but the receiving of Angels deſcended from above? What to pray, but the ſending of Angels upwards? His heavenly inſpirations, and our holy deſires, are as ſo many Angels of intercourſe and commerce between God and us. As teaching bringeth us to know that God is our ſupreme Truth; ſo Prayer teſtifieth that we acknowledge him our ſovereign Good. Beſides, ſith on God, as the moſt High, all inferior cauſes in the world are dependant; and the higher any cauſe is, the more it coveteth to impart virtue unto things beneath it, how ſhould any kind of ſervice we do or can do, find greater acceptance than Prayer, which ſheweth our concurrence with him in deſiring that wherewith his very nature doth moſt delight? Is not the name of Prayer uſual to ſignify even all the ſervice that ever we do unto God? And that for no other cauſe, as I ſuppoſe, but to ſhew that there is in religion no acceptable duty which devout invocation of the name of God doth not either preſuppoſe or infer. Prayers are thoſe *calves of men's lips*; thoſe moſt gracious and ſweet odours; thoſe rich preſents and gifts, which being carried up into Heaven, do beſt teſtify our dutiful affection, and are, for the purchaſing of all favour at the hands of God, the moſt undoubted means we can uſe. On others what more eaſily, and yet what more fruitfully beſtowed than our Prayers? If we give counſel, they are the ſimpler only that need it; if alms, the poorer only are relieved; but by Prayer we do good to all. And whereas every other duty beſides is but to ſhew itſelf as time and opportunity require, for this all times are convenient: when we are not able to do any other things for men's behoof, when through maliciouſneſs or unkindneſs they vouchſafe not to accept any other good at our hands, Prayer is that which we always have in our power to beſtow, and

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Hoſea xiv. 2. Rev. v. 8. Acts x. 4.

Rom. i. 9. 1 Theſ. v. 17. Luke xviii. 1.

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BOOK V. and they never in theirs to refuſe. Wherefore *God forbid*, ſaith Samuel, ſpeaking unto a moſt unthankful people, a people weary of the benefit of his moſt virtuous government over them, *God forbid that I ſhould ſin againſt the Lord, and ceaſe to pray for you.* It is the firſt thing wherewith a righteous life beginneth, and the laſt wherewith it doth end. The knowledge is ſmall which we have on earth concerning things that are done in Heaven. Notwithſtanding, thus much we know even of Saints in Heaven, that they pray. And therefore Prayer being a work common to the Church as well triumphant as militant, a work common unto men with angels, what ſhould we think, but that ſo much of our lives is celeſtial and divine as we ſpend in the exerciſe of Prayer? For which cauſe we ſee that the moſt comfortable viſitations which God hath ſent men from above, have taken eſpecially the times of Prayer as their moſt natural opportunities.

1 Sam. xii. 23.

Dan. ix. 20. Acts x. 30.

Of public Prayer.

24. This holy and religious duty of ſervice towards God concerneth us one way in that we are men, and another way in that we are joined as parts to that viſible myſtical body, which is his Church. As men, we are at our own choice both for time and place and form, according to the exigence of our own occaſions in private; but the ſervice, which we do, as members of a public body, is public, and for that cauſe muſt needs be accounted by ſo much worthier than the other, as a whole ſociety of ſuch condition exceedeth the worth of any one. In which conſideration unto Chriſtian aſſemblies there are moſt ſpecial promiſes made. St. Paul, though likely to prevail with God as much as any one, did notwithſtanding think it much more, both for God's glory and his own good, if prayers might be made and thanks yielded in his behalf by a number of men. The prince and people of Nineveh aſſembling themſelves as a main army of ſupplicants, it was not in the power of God to withſtand them. I ſpeak no otherwiſe

Pſal. lv. 17. Dan. ix. 3. Acts x. 9.

Mat. xviii. 20. 2 Cor. i. 11.

Jonah iv. 11

wiſe concerning the force of public Prayer in the Church of God than before me Tertullian hath done, *We come by troops to the place of aſſembly, that being bonded as it were together, we may be ſupplicants enough to beſiege God with our prayers: Theſe forces are unto him acceptable.* [a] When we publickly make our prayers, it cannot be but that we do it with much more comfort than in private, for that the things we aſk publickly are approved as needful and good in the judgment of all, we hear them ſought for and deſired with common conſent. Again, thus much help and furtherance is more yielded, in that, if ſo be our zeal and devotion to God-ward be ſlack, the alacrity and fervour of others ſerveth as a preſent ſpur. [b] *For even Prayer itſelf,* (ſaith St. Baſil,) *when it hath not the conſort of many voices to ſtrengthen it, is not itſelf.* Finally the good which we do by public Prayer is more than in private can be done, for that beſides the benefit which is here, is no leſs procured to ourſelves, the whole Church is much bettered by our good example; and conſequently whereas ſecret neglect of our duty in this kind is but only our own hurt, one man's contempt of the common Prayer of the Church of God may be and oftentimes is moſt hurtful unto many. In which conſiderations, the prophet David ſo often voweth unto God the ſacrifice of praiſe and thankſgiving in the congregation, ſo earneſtly exhorteth others to ſing praiſes unto the Lord in his courts, in his ſanctuary, before the memorial of his holineſs, and ſo much complaineth of his own uncomfortable exile, wherein although he ſuſtained many moſt grievous indignities, and endured the want of ſundry both pleaſures and honours before enjoyed; yet, as if this one were his only grief, and the reſt not felt, his ſpeeches are all of the heavenly be-

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Apolog. i. 39.

Pſal. cxxii. 1.

Pſal. xxvi. 12. xxxiv. 17. Pſal. xxx. 4. and xcvi. 9.

Pſal. xxvii. 4. xlii. 4. lxxxiv. 1.

[a] Ambroſe l. de Pœn. Multi minimi dum congregantur unanimes, ſunt magni; & multorum preces impoſſibile eſt contemni.

[b] Καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ προσευχὴ μὴ ἔχουσα τὴν συμφωνοῦντας ἀδρανεστέρα ἐστὶ πολλῷ ἑαυτῆς. Baſil. Epiſt. lxviii. tom. iii. p. 104. D. ed. Par.

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nefit of public aſſemblies, and the happineſs of ſuch as had free acceſs thereunto.

Of the Form of common Prayer.

25. A great part of the cauſe wherefore religious minds are ſo inflamed with the love of public devotion is that virtue, force, and efficacy, which by experience they find that the very form and reverend ſolemnity of common Prayer duly ordered hath to help that imbecility and weakneſs in us, by means whereof we are otherwiſe of ourſelves the leſs apt to perform unto God ſo heavenly a ſervice, with ſuch affection of heart, and diſpoſition in the power of our ſouls as is requiſite. To this end therefore all things hereunto appertaining have been ever thought convenient to be done with the moſt ſolemnity and majeſty that the wiſeſt could deviſe. It is not with public as with private Prayer. In this, rather ſecrecy is commanded than outward ſhew; whereas that being the public act of a whole ſociety, requireth accordingly more care to be had of external appearance. The very aſſembling of men therefore unto this ſervice hath been ever ſolemn. And concerning the place of aſſembly, although it ſerve for other uſes as well as this, yet ſeeing that our Lord himſelf hath to this, as to the chiefeſt of all other, plainly ſanctified his own Temple, by entitling it *the Houſe of Prayer*, what pre-eminence of dignity ſoever hath been either by the ordinance or through the ſpecial favour and providence of God annexed unto his ſanctuary, the principal cauſe thereof muſt needs be in regard of common Prayer. For the honour and furtherance whereof, if it be as the graveſt of the ancient Fathers ſeriouſly were perſuaded, and do oftentimes plainly teach, affirming that the Houſe of Prayer is a court, beautified with the preſence of celeſtial powers; that there we ſtand, we pray, we ſound forth hymns unto God, having his Angels intermingled as our aſſociates; and that, with reference hereunto, the Apoſtle doth require ſo great care to be had of decency for the Angels' ſake; how can we come to the Houſe of Prayer, and not be moved

Matth. vi. 5, 6.

Matth. xxi. 13.

Chryſ. Hom. xv. ad Hebræ. & xxiv. in Act.

1 Cor. xi. 10.

moved with the very glory [a] of the place itſelf ſo to frame our affections praying, as doth beſt beſeem them whoſe ſuits the Almighty doth there ſit to hear, and his Angels attend to further? When this was ingrafted in the minds of men, there needed no penal ſtatutes to draw them unto public Prayer. The warning ſound was no ſooner heard, but the Churches were preſently filled [b]; the pavements covered with bodies proſtrate, and waſhed with their tears of devout joy. And as the place of public Prayer is a circumſtance in the outward form thereof which hath moment to help devotion; ſo the perſon much more, with whom the people of God do join themſelves in this action, as with him that ſtandeth and ſpeaketh in the preſence of God for them. The authority of his place, the fervour of his zeal, the piety and gravity of his whole behaviour, muſt needs exceedingly both grace and ſet forward the ſervice he doth. The authority of his calling is a furtherance, becauſe if God hath ſo far received him into favour, as to impoſe upon him by the hands of men that office of bleſſing the people in his name, and making interceſſion to him in theirs; which office he hath ſanctified with his own moſt gracious promiſe, and ratified that promiſe by manifeſt actual performance thereof, when others before in like place have done the ſame, is not his very ordination a ſeal as it were to us, that the ſelf-ſame divine love, which hath choſen the inſtrument to work with, will by that inſtrument effect the thing whereunto he ordained it, in bleſſing his people, and accepting the prayers which his ſervant offereth up unto God for them? It was in this reſpect a comfortable title which the ancients uſed to give unto God's miniſters, BOOK V. Numb. vi. 23. 2 Chron. xxx. 27. Cod. l. i. tit. 3. de Epi. & Cler. 43. & 44. ſæpe.

[a] Pſal. xcvi. 6. Power and beauty are in his ſanctuary.

[b] Ad domos ſtatim Dominicas currimus, corpora humi ſternimus, mixtis cum fletu gaudiis ſupplicamus. Salvian. de Prov. l. vii.

terming

BOOK V. terming them uſually *God's moſt beloved*, which were ordained to procure by their prayers his love and favour towards all. Again if there be not zeal and fervency in him which propoſeth for the reſt thoſe ſuits and ſupplications which they by their joyful acclamations muſt ratify; if he praiſe not God with all his might; if he pour not out his ſoul in Prayer; if he take not their cauſes to heart, and ſpeak not as Moſes, Daniel, and Ezra did for their people; how ſhould there be but in them frozen coldneſs, when his affections ſeem benumbed from whom theirs ſhould take fire? Virtue and godlineſs of life are required at the hands of the miniſter of God, not only in that he is to teach and inſtruct the people, who for the moſt part are rather led away by the ill example, than directed aright by the wholeſome inſtruction of them, whoſe life ſwerveth from the rule of their own doctrine; but alſo much more in regard of this other part of his function; whether we reſpect the weakneſs of the people, apt to loath and abhor the ſanctuary when they which perform the ſervice thereof are ſuch as the ſons of
1 Tim. ii. 8. Heli were; or elſe conſider the inclination of God
John ix. 31. himſelf, who requireth the lifting up of pure hands
Jer. xi. 11. in prayers, and hath given the world plainly to un-
Ezech. viii. 18. derſtand that the wicked, although they cry, ſhall not be heard. They are not fit ſupplicants to ſeek his mercy on the behalf of others, whoſe own un-
Pſ. cxxxii. 9. repented ſins provoke his juſt indignation. *Let thy prieſts* therefore, O Lord, *be* evermore *clothed with righteouſneſs, that thy ſaints may* thereby with more devotion *rejoice and ſing!* But of all helps for due performance of this ſervice, the greateſt is that very ſet and ſtanding order itſelf, which framed with common advice, hath both for matter and form preſcribed whatſoever is herein publickly done. No doubt, from God it hath proceeded, and by us it muſt be acknowledged a work of ſingular care and providence, that the Church hath evermore held a

preſcript

preſcript form of Common Prayer, although not in all things every where the ſame, yet for the moſt part retaining ſtill the ſame analogy. So that if the Liturgies of all ancient Churches throughout the world be compared amongſt themſelves, it may be eaſily perceived they had all one original mould, and that the public Prayer of the people of God in Churches thoroughly ſettled, did never uſe to be voluntary dictates, proceeding from any men's extemporal wit. To him which conſidereth the grievous and ſcandalous inconveniences whereunto they make themſelves daily ſubject, with whom any blind and ſecret corner is judged a fit houſe of common Prayer; the manifold confuſions which they fall into, where every man's private ſpirit and gift (as they term it) is the only biſhop that ordaineth him to his miniſtry; the irkſome deformities whereby, through endleſs and ſenſeleſs effuſions of indigeſted prayers, they oftentimes diſgrace in moſt unſufferable manner the worthieſt part of Chriſtian duty towards God, who herein are ſubject to no certain order, but pray both what and how they liſt; to him, I ſay, which weigheth duly all theſe things, the reaſons cannot be obſcure why God doth in public Prayer ſo much reſpect the ſolemnity of places where, the authority and calling of perſons by whom, and the preciſe appointment even with what words or ſentences, his name ſhould be called on amongſt his people.

2 Chron. vi. 20. Joel ii. 17.

26. No man hath hitherto been ſo impious, as plainly and directly to condemn Prayer. The beſt ſtratagem that Satan hath, who knoweth his kingdom to be no one way more ſhaken than by the public devout prayers of God's Church, is by traducing the form and manner of them to bring them into contempt, and ſo to ſhake the force of all men's devotion towards them. From this, and from no other forge, hath proceeded a ſtrange conceit, that to ſerve God with any ſet form of Common Prayer is ſuperſtitious.

Of them which like not to have any ſet Form of Common Prayer.

As

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Num. vi. 23.

As though God himſelf did not frame to his prieſts the very ſpeech wherewith they were charged to bleſs the people; or as if our Lord, even of purpoſe to prevent this fancy of extemporal and voluntary prayers, had not left us of his own framing one which might both remain as a part of the Church Liturgy, and ſerve as a pattern whereby to frame all other prayers with efficacy, yet without ſuperfluity of words. If prayers were no otherwiſe accepted of God than being conceived always new, according to the exigence of preſent occaſions; if it be right to judge him by our own bellies, and to imagine that he doth loath to have the ſelf-ſame ſupplications often iterated, even as we do to be every day fed without alteration or change of diet; if prayers be actions which ought to waſte away themſelves in the making; if being made to remain that they may be reſumed and uſed again as prayers, they be but inſtruments of ſuperſtition; ſurely we cannot excuſe Moſes, who gave ſuch occaſion of ſcandal to the world, by not being contented to praiſe the name of Almighty God according to the uſual naked ſimplicity of God's Spirit, for that admirable victory given them againſt Pharaoh, unleſs ſo dangerous a precedent were left for the caſting of prayers into certain poetical moulds, and for the framing of prayers which might be repeated often, although they never had again the ſame occaſions which brought them forth at the firſt. For that very hymn of Moſes grew afterwards to be a part of the ordinary Jewiſh Liturgy; not only that, but ſundry other ſithence invented. Their books of Common Prayer contained partly hymns taken out of the holy Scripture, partly benedictions, thankſgivings, ſupplications, penned by ſuch as have been from time to time the governors of that ſynagogue. Theſe they ſorted into their ſeveral times and places, ſome to begin the ſervice of God with, and ſome to end, ſome to go before, and ſome to follow, and ſome to be interlaced between the divine readings

readings of the Law and Prophets. Unto their cuſtom of finiſhing the Paſſover with certain pſalms, there is not any thing more probable, than that the holy Evangeliſt doth evidently allude, ſaying, That after the cup delivered by our Saviour unto his Apoſtles; [a] they ſung, and went forth to the mount of Olives. As the Jews had their ſongs of Moſes, and David, and the reſt; ſo the Church of Chriſt from the very beginning hath both uſed the ſame, and beſides them other of like nature, the ſong of the Virgin Mary, the ſong of Zachary, the ſong of Simeon, ſuch hymns as the Apoſtle doth often ſpeak of, ſaying, *I will pray and ſing with the Spirit.* Again, *in pſalms, hymns, and ſongs, making melody unto the Lord, and that heartily.* Hymns and pſalms are ſuch kinds of prayer as are not wont to be conceived upon a ſudden; but are framed by meditation beforehand, or elſe by prophetical illumination are inſpired, as at that time it appeareth they were, when God by extraordinary gifts of the Spirit enabled men to all parts of ſervice neceſſary for the edifying of his Church. BOOK V. 1 Cor. xiv. 15. Epheſ. v. 19.

27. Now, albeit the admonitioners did ſeem at the firſt to allow no preſcript form of Prayer at all, but thought it the beſt that their miniſter ſhould always be left at liberty to pray as his own diſcretion did ſerve; yet becauſe this opinion upon better advice they afterwards retracted, their defender and his aſſociates have ſithence propoſed to the world a form ſuch as themſelves like, and, to ſhew their diſlike of ours, have taken againſt it thoſe exceptions, which whoſoever doth meaſure by number, muſt needs be greatly out of love with a thing that hath ſo many faults; whoſoever by weight, cannot chooſe but eſteem very

Of them who allowing a ſet Form of Prayer, yet allow not ours.

[a] Matth. xxvi. 30. ὑμνήσαντες, having ſung the pſalms which were uſual at that feaſt, thoſe pſalms which the Jews call the great Hallelujah, beginning at the cxiii. and continuing to the end of the cxviii. See Paul Burgenſ. in Pſal. cxiii. addit. 1. and Scal. de emendat. tempor.

highly

BOOK V. highly of that, wherein the wit of ſo ſcrupulous adverſaries hath not hitherto obſerved any defect which themſelves can ſeriouſly think to be of moment. Groſs errors and manifeſt impiety they grant we have taken away. Yet [a] many things in it they ſay are amiſs; many inſtances they give of things in our Common Prayer, not agreeable, as they pretend, with the Word of God. It hath in their eye too great affinity with the form of the Church of Rome; it differeth too much from that which Churches elſewhere reformed allow and obſerve; our attire diſgraceth it; it is not orderly read nor geſtured as beſeemeth; it requireth nothing to be done, which a child may not lawfully do; it hath a number of ſhort cuts or ſhreddings, which may be better called wiſhes than prayers; it intermingleth prayings and readings in ſuch manner, as if ſupplicants ſhould uſe in propoſing their ſuits unto mortal princes, all the world would judge them mad; it is too long, and by that mean abridgeth preaching; it appointeth the people to ſay after the miniſter; it ſpendeth time in ſinging and in reading the pſalms by courſe, from ſide to ſide; it uſeth the Lord's Prayer too oft; the ſongs of *Magnificat*, *Benedictus*, and *Nunc Dimittis*, it might very well ſpare; it hath the Litany, the Creed of Athanaſius, and *Gloria Patri*, which are ſuperfluous; it craveth earthly things too much; for deliverance from thoſe evils againſt which we pray it giveth no thanks; ſome things it aſketh unſeaſonably, when they need not to be prayed for, as deliverance from thunder and tempeſt, when no danger is nigh; ſome

[a] T. C. l. i. p. 131. afterwards, p. 135. Whereas Mr. Doctor affirmeth that there can be nothing ſhewed in the whole book which is not agreeable unto the Word of God; I am very loth, &c. Notwithſtanding, my duty of defending the truth, and love which I have firſt towards God, and then towards my country, conſtraineth me, being thus provoked, to ſpeak a few words more particularly of the form of Prayer, that when the blemiſhes thereof do appear, it may pleaſe the Queen's Majeſty, and her honourable Council, with thoſe of the Parliament, &c.

in

in too abject and diffident a manner, as that God would give us that which we for our unworthineſs dare not aſk; ſome which ought not to be deſired, as the deliverance from ſudden death, riddance from all adverſity, and the extent of ſaving mercy towards all men. Theſe and ſuch like are the imperfections, whereby our form of Common Prayer is thought to ſwerve from the Word of God. A great favourer of that part, but yet (his error that way excepted) a learned, painful, a right virtuous and good man, did not fear ſometime to undertake, againſt Popiſh detractors, the general maintenance and defence of our whole Church-ſervice, as having in it nothing repugnant to the Word of God: and even they which would file away moſt from the largeneſs of that offer, do notwithſtanding in more ſparing terms acknowledge little leſs. For when thoſe oppoſite judgments which never are wont to conſtrue things doubtful to the better, thoſe very tongues which are always prone to aggravate whatſoever hath but the leaſt ſhew whereby it may be ſuſpected to favour of, or to ſound towards any evil, do by their own voluntary ſentence clearly free us from groſs errors, and from manifeſt impiety herein; who would not judge us to be diſcharged of all blame, which are confeſſed to have no great fault, even by their very word and teſtimony in whoſe eyes no fault of ours hath ever hitherto been accuſtomed to ſeem ſmall? Nevertheleſs, what they ſeem to offer us with one hand, the ſame with the other they pull back again. They grant we err not in palpable manner, we are not openly and notoriouſly impious; yet errors we have, which the ſharp inſight of theſe wiſeſt men do eſpy; there is hidden impiety, which the profounder ſort are able enough to diſcloſe. Their ſkilful ears perceive certain harſh and unpleaſant diſcords in the ſound of our Common Prayer, ſuch as the rules of divine harmony, ſuch as the Laws of God cannot bear.

28. Touching

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28. Touching our conformity with the Church of Rome, as alſo of the difference between ſome reformed Churches and ours, that which generally hath been already anſwered, may ſerve for anſwer to that exception which in theſe two reſpects they take particularly againſt the Form of our Common Prayer. To ſay, that in nothing they may be followed which are of the Church of Rome, were violent and extreme. Some things they do, in that they are men, in that they are wiſe men, and Chriſtian men; ſome things, in that they are men miſled and blinded with error. As far as they follow reaſon and truth, we fear not to tread the ſelf-ſame ſteps wherein they have come, and to be their followers. Where Rome keepeth that which is ancienter and better, others whom we much more affect leaving it for newer and changing it for worſe; we had rather follow the perfections of them whom we like not, than in defect reſemble them whom we love. For although they profeſs they agree with us touching a *preſcript Form of Prayer to be uſed in the Church*; yet in that very Form which they ſay is *agreeable to God's Word and the uſe of reformed Churches*, they have by ſpecial proteſtation declared, that their meaning is not, it ſhall be preſcribed as a thing whereunto they will tie their miniſter. *It ſhall not* (they ſay) *be neceſſary for the miniſter daily to repeat all theſe things before mentioned, but beginning with ſome like confeſſion, to proceed to the ſermon; which ended, he either uſeth the Prayer for all ſtates before mentioned, or elſe prayeth as the Spirit of God ſhall move his heart.* Herein therefore we hold it much better, with the Church of Rome, to appoint a preſcript Form, which every man ſhall be bound to obſerve, than with them to ſet down a kind of direction, a form for men to uſe if they liſt, or otherwiſe to change as pleaſeth themſelves. Furthermore, the Church of Rome hath rightly alſo conſidered, that public Prayer is a duty entire in itſelf, a duty requiſite to be performed

The Form of our Liturgy too near the Papiſts, too far different from that of other reformed Churches, as they pretend.

T. C. l. i. p. 155. A book of the Form of Common Prayer tendered to the Parliament. p. 46.

formed much oftener than ſermons can poſſibly be made. For which cauſe, as they, ſo we have likewiſe a public Form how to ſerve God both morning and evening, whether ſermons may be had or no. On the contrary ſide, their Form of reformed Prayer ſheweth only what ſhall be done *upon the days appointed for the preaching of the Word*; with what words the miniſter ſhall begin, *when the hour appointed for the ſermon is come*; what ſhall be ſaid or ſung before ſermon, and what after. So that according to this Form of theirs, it muſt ſtand for a rule, *No ſermon, no ſervice.* Which overſight occaſioned the French ſpitefully to term Religion, in that ſort exerciſed, a mere preach. Sundry other more particular defects there are, which I willingly forbear to rehearſe, in conſideration whereof, we cannot be induced to prefer their reformed Form of Prayer before our own, what Church ſoever we reſemble therein. BOOK V. Page 22. Page 24.

29. The attire which the miniſter of God is by order to uſe at times of divine ſervice, being but a matter of mere formality, yet ſuch as for comelineſs-ſake hath hitherto been judged by the wiſer ſort of men, not unneceſſary to concur with other ſenſible notes, betokening the different kind or quality of perſons and actions whereto it is tied; as we think not ourſelves the holier becauſe we uſe it, ſo neither ſhould they, with whom no ſuch thing is in uſe, think us therefore unholy[a], becauſe we ſubmit ourſelves unto that which in a matter ſo indifferent the wiſdom of authority and law hath thought comely. To ſolemn actions of royalty and juſtice, their ſuit- Attire belonging to the ſervice of God.

[a] T. C. l. i. p. 71. We think the ſurplice eſpecially unmeet for a miniſter of the Goſpel to wear. p. 75. It is eaſily ſeen by Solomon, Eccleſ. ix. 8. that to wear a white garment was highly eſteemed in the eaſt parts, and was ordinary to thoſe that were in any eſteem, as black with us, and therefore was no ſeveral apparel for the miniſters to execute their miniſtry in.

BOOK V. able ornaments are a beauty. Are they only in Religion a ſtain? *Divine Religion*, ſaith St. Jerom, (he ſpeaketh of the prieſtly attire of the Law,) *hath one kind of habit wherein to miniſter before the Lord, another for ordinary uſes belonging unto common life.* Pelagius having carped at the curious neatneſs of men's apparel in thoſe days, and through the fourneſs of his diſpoſition ſpoken ſomewhat too hardly thereof, affirming, that the *glory of clothes and ornaments was a thing contrary to God and godlineſs*; St. Jerom, whoſe cuſtom is not to pardon over-eaſily his adverſaries, if any where they chance to trip, preſſeth him as thereby making all ſorts of men in the world *God's enemies. Is it enmity with God* (ſaith he) *if I wear my coat ſomewhat handſome?* If a Biſhop, a Prieſt, Deacon, and the reſt of the Eccleſiaſtical Order, *come to adminiſter the uſual ſacrifice in a white garment*[a], are they hereby God's adverſaries? *Clerks, monks, widows, virgins, take heed, it is dangerous for you to be otherwiſe ſeen than in foul and ragged clothes. Not to ſpeak any thing of ſecular men, which have proclaimed to have war with God as oft as ever they put on precious and ſhining clothes.* By which words of Jerom, we may take it at the leaſt for a probable collection, that his meaning was to draw Pelagius into hatred, as condemning by ſo general a ſpeech even the neatneſs of that very garment itſelf, wherein the Clergy did then uſe to adminiſter publickly the holy Sacrament of Chriſt's moſt bleſſed body and blood; for that they did then uſe ſome ſuch ornament, the words of Chryſoſtom give plain teſtimony, who ſpeaking to the Clergy of Antioch, telleth them, that if they did ſuffer notorious malefactors to come to the Table of the Lord and not put them by, it would be as heavily revenged upon them, as if themſelves had ſhed his blood; that for

Hieron. in xliv. Ezech. Hiero. Adver. Pelag. l. i. c. 9.

Chryſoſt. ad. popul. Antioch. tom. v. Serm. 60.

[a] T. C. l. i. p. 77. By a white garment is meant a comely apparel, and not ſlovenly.

this

this purpoſe God hath called them to the rooms which they held in the Church of Chriſt; that this they ſhould reckon was their dignity, this their ſafety, this their whole crown and glory; and therefore this they ſhould carefully intend, and not, when the Sacrament is adminiſtered, imagine themſelves called only *to walk up and down in a white and ſhining garment*. Now, whereas theſe ſpeeches of Jerom and Chryſoſtom do ſeem plainly to allude unto ſuch miniſterial garments as were then in uſe; to this they anſwer, that by Jerom nothing can be gathered, but only that the miniſters came to Church in handſome holiday apparel, and that himſelf did not think them bound by the Law of God to go like ſlovens, but the weed which we mean he defendeth not; that Chryſoſtom meaneth indeed the ſame which we defend[a]; but ſeemeth rather to reprehend than allow it as we do. Which anſwer wringeth out of Jerom and Chryſoſtom that which their words will not gladly yield. They both ſpeak of the ſame perſons, (namely, the Clergy,) and of their weed at the ſame time when they adminiſter the bleſſed Sacrament; and of the ſelf-ſame kind of weed, a white garment, ſo far as we have wit to conceive; and for any thing we are able to ſee, their manner of ſpeech is not ſuch as doth argue either the thing itſelf to be different whereof they ſpeak, or their judgments concerning it different; although the one do only maintain it againſt Pelagius, as a thing not therefore unlawful becauſe it was fair or handſome, and the other make it a matter of ſmall commendation in itſelf, if they which wear it do nothing elſe but wear the robes which their place requireth. The honeſty, dignity, and eſtimation of

[a] T. C. l. i. p. 75. It is true, Chryſoſtom maketh mention of a white garment, but not in commendation of it, but rather to the contrary: for he ſheweth that the dignity of the miniſtry was in taking heed that none unmeet were admitted to the Lord's Supper, nor in going about the Church with a white garment.

BOOK V. white apparel in the eaſtern part of the world, is a token of greater fitneſs for this ſacred uſe, wherein it were not convenient that any thing baſely thought of ſhould be ſuffered. Notwithſtanding, I am not bent to ſtand ſtiffly upon theſe probabilities, that in Jerom's and Chryſoſtom's time any ſuch attire was made ſeveral to this purpoſe. Yet ſurely the words of Solomon are very impertinent to prove it an ornament, therefore not ſeveral for the miniſters to execute their miniſtry in, becauſe men of credit and eſtimation wore their ordinary apparel white. For we know that when Solomon wrote thoſe words, the ſeveral apparel for the miniſters of the Law to exe-
Eccluſ. xlv. 7. cute their miniſtry in, was ſuch. The wiſe man which feared God from his heart, and honoured the ſervice that was done unto him, could not mention ſo much as the garment of holineſs, but with effectual ſignification of more ſingular reverence and love. Were it not better that the love which men bear to God ſhould make the leaſt things which are employed in his ſervice amiable, than that their overſcrupulous diſlike of ſo mean a thing as a veſtment, ſhould from the very ſervice of God withdraw their hearts and affections? I term it rather a mean thing, a thing not much to be reſpected, becauſe even they ſo account of it, whoſe firſt diſputations againſt it were ſuch as if Religion had ſcarcely any thing of
T. C. l. i. p. 79. greater weight. Their allegations were then, *That if a man were aſſured to gain a thouſand by doing that which may offend any one brother, or be unto him a cauſe of falling, he ought not to do it; that*
71. *this Popiſh apparel, the ſurplice eſpecially, hath been by Papiſts abominably abuſed; that it hath been a*
75. *mark and a very ſacrament of abomination; that remaining, it ſerveth as a monument of idolatry; and not*
72. *only edifieth not, but as a dangerous and ſcandalous cere-*
T. C. l. ii. p. 403. *mony doth exceeding much harm to them of whoſe good we*
l. i. p. 73. *are commanded to have regard; that it cauſeth men to*
86. l. ii. p. 403. *periſh, and make ſhipwreck of conſcience*; for ſo themſelves

ſelves profeſs they mean, when they ſay the weak are offended herewith; *that it hardeneth Papiſts, hindereth the weak from profiting in the knowledge of the Goſpel, grieveth godly minds, and giveth them occaſion to think hardly of their miniſters; that if the magiſtrates may command, or the Church appoint Rites and Ceremonies, yet ſeeing our abſtinence from things in their own nature indifferent, if the weak brother ſhould be offended, is a flat commandment of the Holy Ghoſt which no authority either of Church or Commonwealth can make void; therefore neither may the one nor the other lawfully ordain this ceremony, which hath great incommodity and no profit, great offence and no edifying; that by the Law it ſhould have been burnt and conſumed with fire as a thing infected with leproſy; that the example of Hezekiah beating to powder the brazen Serpent, and of Paul abrogating thoſe abuſed feaſts of charity, enforceth upon us the duty of aboliſhing altogether a thing which hath been, and is ſo offenſive; finally, that God by his Prophet hath given an expreſs commandment, which in this caſe toucheth us no leſs than of old it did the Jews; Ye ſhall pollute the covering of the images of ſilver, and the rich ornament of your images of gold, and caſt them away as a ſtained rag; thou ſhalt ſay to it, Get thee hence.* Theſe, and ſuch like, were their firſt diſcourſes touching that Church-attire which with us for the moſt part is uſual in public Prayer, our Eccleſiaſtical Laws ſo appointing, as well becauſe it hath been of reaſonable continuance, and by ſpecial choice was taken out of the number of thoſe holy garments which (over and beſides their myſtical reference) ſerved for comelineſs under the Law; and is in the number of thoſe ceremonies which may with choice and diſcretion be uſed to that purpoſe in the Church of Chriſt; as alſo for that it ſuiteth ſo fitly with that lightſome affection of joy, wherein God delighteth when his Saints praiſe him; and ſo lively reſembleth the glory of the Saints in Heaven, together with the beauty wherein Angels have appeared unto men, that they which are to appear for men in the

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Lib. i. p. 76. Page 81.

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Iſa. xxx. 22.

Exod. xxviii. 2. Exod. xxxix. 27.

Pſal. cxlix. 2.

Apoc. xv. 6.

Mar. xvi. 5.

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preſence of God as Angels, if they were left to their own choice, and would chooſe any, could not eaſily deviſe a garment of more decency for ſuch a ſervice. As for thoſe fore-rehearſed vehement allegations againſt it, ſhall we give them credit, when the very authors from whom they came confeſs they believe not their own ſayings? For when once they began to perceive how many, both of them in the two Univerſities, and of others who abroad having Eccleſiaſtical charge, do favour mightily their cauſe, and by all means ſet it forward, might, by perſiſting in the extremity of that opinion, hazard greatly their own eſtates, and ſo weaken that part which their places do now give them much opportunity to ſtrengthen; they aſked counſel as it ſeemed from ſome abroad, who wiſely conſidered that the body is of far more worth than the raiment. Whereupon, for fear of dangerous inconveniences, it hath been thought good to add, that ſometimes authority *muſt and may with good conſcience be obeyed, even where commandment is not given upon good ground; that the duty of preaching is one of the abſolute commandments of God, and therefore ought not to be forſaken for the bare inconveniency of a thing which in its own nature is indifferent; that one of the fouleſt ſpots in the ſurplice, is the offence which it giveth in occaſioning the weak to fall, and the wicked to be confirmed in their wickedneſs; yet hereby there is no unlawfulneſs proved, but only an inconveniency, that ſuch things ſhould be eſtabliſhed, howbeit no ſuch inconveniency neither as may not be borne with; that when God doth flatly command us to abſtain from things in their own nature indifferent, if they offend our weak brethren, his meaning is not that we ſhould obey his commandment herein, unleſs we may do it, and not leave undone that which the Lord hath abſolutely commanded. Always provided, that whoſoever will enjoy the benefit of this diſpenſation, to wear a ſcandalous badge of idolatry rather than forſake his paſtoral charge, do (as occaſion ſerveth) teach nevertheleſs ſtill the incommodity of the thing itſelf, admoniſh the*

T. C. l. i. p. 74. & l. ii. p. 250.

Index l. iii. c. 8. l. iii. p. 262, 263.

Lib. iii. p. 263.

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the weak brethren that they be not, and pray unto God ſo to ſtrengthen them that they may not be offended thereat. BOOK V.
So that whereas before, they which had authority to inſtitute Rites and Ceremonies were denied to have power to inſtitute this, it is now confeſſed, that this they may alſo lawfully, but not ſo conveniently appoint; they did well before, and as they ought, who had it in utter deteſtation and hatred as a thing abominable; they now do well, which think it may be both borne and uſed with a very good conſcience; before, he which by wearing it were ſure to win thouſands unto Chriſt, ought not to do it if there were but one which might be offended; now, though it be with the offence of thouſands, yet it may be done rather than that ſhould be given over whereby notwithſtanding we are not certain we ſhall gain one. The examples of Hezekiah and of Paul, the charge which was given to the Jews by Iſaiah, the ſtrict Apoſtolical prohibition of things indifferent, whenſoever they may be ſcandalous, were before ſo forcible Laws againſt our Eccleſiaſtical attire, as neither Church nor Commonwealth could poſſibly make void; which now one of far leſs authority than either, hath found how to fruſtrate, by diſpenſing with the breach of inferior commandments, to the end that the greater may be kept. But it booteth them not thus to ſolder up a broken cauſe, whereof their firſt and laſt diſcourſes will fall aſunder, do what they can. Let them ingenuouſly confeſs that their invectives were too bitter, their arguments too weak, the matter not ſo dangerous as they did imagine. If thoſe alleged teſtimonies of Scripture did indeed concern the matter to ſuch effect as was pretended, that which they ſhould infer, were unlawfulneſs, becauſe they were cited as prohibitions of that thing which indeed they concern. If they prove not our attire unlawful, becauſe in truth they concern it not, it followeth that they prove not any thing againſt it, and conſequently not ſo much as uncomelineſs or inconveniency. Unleſs there-

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fore they be able thoroughly to reſolve themſelves, that there is no one ſentence in all the Scriptures of God which doth control the wearing of it in ſuch manner, and to ſuch purpoſe, as the Church of England alloweth; unleſs they can fully reſt and ſettle their minds in this moſt ſound perſuaſion, that they are not to make themſelves the only competent judges of decency in theſe caſes, and to deſpiſe the ſolemn judgment of the whole Church, preferring before it their own conceit, grounded only upon uncertain ſuſpicions and fears, whereof if there were at the firſt ſome probable cauſe, when things were but raw and tender, yet now very tract of time hath itſelf worn that out alſo; unleſs, I ſay, thus reſolved in mind they hold their paſtoral charge with the comfort of a good conſcience, no way grudging at that which they do, or doing that which they think themſelves bound of duty to reprove, how ſhould it poſſibly help or further them in their courſe, to take ſuch occaſions as they ſay are requiſite to be taken, and in penſive manner to tell their audience, "*Brethren, our hearts' deſire is, "that we might enjoy the full liberty of the Goſpel, as in "other reformed Churches they do elſewhere, upon whom "the heavy hand of authority hath impoſed no grievous "burden. But ſuch is the miſery of theſe our days, that "ſo great happineſs we cannot look to attain unto. Were "it ſo, that the equity of the Law of Moſes could prevail, "or the zeal of Hezekiah be found in the hearts of theſe "guides and governors under whom we live; or the "voice of God's own Prophets be duly heard; or the ex-"amples of the Prophets of Chriſt be followed; yea, or "their precepts be anſwered with full and perfect obedi-"ence; theſe abominable rags, polluted garments, marks "and ſacraments of idolatry, which power, as you ſee, "conſtraineth us to wear, and conſcience to abhor, had "long ere this day been moved both out of ſight and out "of memory. But, as now things ſtand, behold to what "narrow ſtraits we are driven: on the one ſide we "fear the words of our Saviour Chriſt;* Woe be to them "by

" by whom ſcandal and offence cometh; *on the other* BOOK
" *ſide, at the Apoſtle's ſpeech we cannot but quake and* V.
" *tremble*; If I preach not the Goſpel, woe be unto
" me. *Being thus hardly beſet, we ſee not any other re-*
" *medy but to hazard your ſouls the one way, that we*
" *may the other way endeavour to ſave them. Touching*
" *the offence of the weak, therefore, we muſt adventure it.*
" *If they periſh, they periſh. Our paſtoral charge is God's*
" *moſt abſolute commandment. Rather than that ſhall be*
" *taken from us, we are reſolved to take this filth and*
" *put it on, although we judge it to be ſo unfit and incon-*
" *venient that as oft as ever we pray or preach ſo ar-*
" *rayed before you, we do as much as in us lieth to caſt*
" *away your ſouls that are weak-minded, and to bring*
" *you unto endleſs perdition. But we beſeech you, bre-*
" *thren, have a care of your own ſafety, take heed to*
" *your ſteps that ye be not taken in thoſe ſnares which*
" *we lay before you. And our prayer in your behalf to*
" *Almighty God is, that the poiſon which we offer you,*
" *may never have the power to do you harm.*" Advice and counſel is beſt ſought for at their hands which either have no part at all in the cauſe whereof they inſtruct; or elſe are ſo far engaged, that themſelves are to bear the greateſt adventure in the ſucceſs of their own counſels. The one of which two conſiderations maketh men the leſs reſpective, and the other the more circumſpect. Thoſe good and learned men which gave the firſt direction to this courſe, had reaſon to wiſh that their own proceedings at home might be favoured abroad alſo, and that the good affection of ſuch as inclined towards them might be kept alive. But if themſelves had gone under thoſe ſails which they require to be hoiſted up, if they had been themſelves to execute their own theory in this Church, I doubt not but eaſily they would have ſeen, being near at hand, that the way was not good which they took of adviſing men, firſt to wear the apparel that thereby they might be free to continue their preaching, and then of requiring them ſo to preach,

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BOOK V. as they might be ſure they could not continue, except they imagine that Laws which permit them not to do as they would, will endure them to ſpeak as they liſt, even againſt that which themſelves do by conſtraint of Laws; they would have eaſily ſeen that our people being accuſtomed to think evermore that thing evil which is publickly under any pretence reproved, and the men themſelves worſe which reprove it and uſe it too, it ſhould be to little purpoſe for them to ſalve the wound, by making proteſtations in diſgrace of their own actions, with plain acknowledgment that they are ſcandalous, or by uſing fair intreaty with the weak brethren; they would eaſily have ſeen how with us it cannot be endured to hear a man openly profeſs that he putteth fire to his neighbour's houſe, but yet ſo halloweth the ſame with prayer that he hopeth it ſhall not burn. It had been therefore perhaps ſafer and better for ours to have obſerved St. Baſil's advice, both in this and in all things of like nature: *Let him which approveth not his governors ordinances, either plainly (but privately always) ſhew his diſlike if he have* λόγον ἰσχυρὸν, *ſtrong and invincible reaſon againſt them, according to the true will and meaning of Scripture; or elſe let him quietly with ſilence do what is enjoined.* Obedience with profeſſed unwillingneſs to obey, is not better than manifeſt diſobedience.

Baſil. Ascer. reſponſ. ad inter. 47.

Of geſture in praying, and of different places choſen to that purpoſe. T. C. l. i. p. 134.

30. Having thus diſputed whether the ſurplice be a fit garment to be uſed in the ſervice of God, the next queſtion whereinto we are drawn is, whether it be a thing allowable or no that the miniſter ſhould ſay ſervice in the Chancel, or turn his face at any time from the people, or before ſervice ended remove from the place where it was begun? By them which trouble us with thoſe doubts, we would more willingly be reſolved of a greater doubt; whether it be not a kind of taking God's name in vain to debaſe Religion with ſuch frivolous diſputes, a ſin to beſtow time and labour about them? Things of ſo mean regard and quality, although neceſſary to be ordered,

dered, are notwithſtanding very unſavoury when they come to be diſputed of; becauſe diſputation preſuppoſeth ſome difficulty in the matter which is argued, whereas in things of this nature they muſt be either very ſimple, or very froward, who need to be taught by diſputation what is meet. When we make profeſſion of our Faith, we ſtand; when we acknowledge our ſins, or ſeek unto God for favour, we fall down; becauſe the geſture of conſtancy becometh us beſt in the one, in the other the behaviour of humility. Some parts of our Liturgy conſiſt in the reading of the Word of God, and the proclaiming of his Law, that the people may thereby learn what their duties are towards him; ſome conſiſt in words of praiſe and thankſgiving, whereby we acknowledge unto God what his bleſſings are towards us; ſome are ſuch as albeit they ſerve to ſingular good purpoſe, even when there is no Communion adminiſtered, nevertheleſs being deviſed at the firſt for that purpoſe, are at the Table of the Lord for that cauſe alſo commonly read; ſome are uttered as from the people, ſome as with them unto God, ſome as from God unto them, all as before his ſight whom we fear, and whoſe preſence to offend with any the leaſt unſeemlineſs we would be ſurely as loth as they who moſt reprehend or deride that we do. Now, becauſe the Goſpels which are weekly read, do all hiſtorically declare ſomething which our Lord Jeſus Chriſt himſelf either ſpake, did, or ſuffered in his own perſon, it hath been the cuſtom of Chriſtian men then eſpecially in token of the greater reverence to ſtand, to utter certain words of acclamation, and at the name of Jeſus to bow. Which harmleſs Ceremonies, as there is no man conſtrained to uſe; ſo we know no reaſon wherefore any man ſhould yet imagine it an unſufferable evil. It ſheweth a reverend regard to the Son of God above other meſſengers, although ſpeaking as from God alſo. And againſt Infidels, Jews, Arians, who derogate from the honour of Jeſus Chriſt, ſuch Ceremonies are thus profitable.

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T. C. l. i. p. 203.

Mark xii. 6.

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As for any erroneous eſtimation, advancing the Son above the Father and the Holy Ghoſt, ſeeing that the truth of his equality with them is a myſtery ſo hard for the wits of mortal men to riſe unto, of all hereſies that which may give him ſuperiority above them is leaſt to be feared. But to let go this as a matter ſcarce worth the ſpeaking of, whereas if fault be in theſe things any where juſtly found, Law hath referred the whole diſpoſition and redreſs thereof to the Ordinary of the place; they which elſewhere complain that diſgrace and injury is offered even to the meaneſt pariſh miniſter when the magiſtrate appointeth him what to wear, and leaveth not ſo ſmall a matter as that to his own diſcretion, being preſumed a man diſcreet and truſted with the care of the people's ſouls, do think the graveſt Prelates in the land no competent judges to diſcern and appoint where it is fit for the miniſter to ſtand, or which way convenient to look praying. From their Ordinary therefore they appeal to themſelves, finding great fault that we neither reform the thing againſt the which they have long ſince given ſentence, nor yet make anſwer unto what they bring, which is, that Saint Luke declaring how *Peter ſtood up in the midſt of the Diſciples*, did thereby deliver an unchangeable rule, that whatſoever is done in the Church, ought to be done in the midſt of the Church; and therefore not baptiſm to be adminiſtered in one place, marriage ſolemnized in another, the Supper of the Lord received in a third, in a fourth ſermons, in a fifth prayers to be made; that the cuſtom which we uſe is Levitical, abſurd, and ſuch as hindereth the underſtanding of the people; that if it be meet for the miniſter, at ſome time to look towards the people, if the body of the Church be a fit place for ſome part of divine ſervice, it muſt needs follow, that whenſoever his face is turned any other way, or any thing done any other where, it hath abſurdity. All theſe reaſons, they ſay, have been brought, and were hitherto never anſwered; beſides a number of merriments

T. C. l. iii. p. 215.

T. C. l. i. p. 74.

T. C. l. i. p. 134. l. iii. p. 187.

Acts i. 15. T. C. l. i. p. 134. l. iii. p. 187.

merriments and jeſts unanſwered likewiſe, wherewith they have preſently moved much laughter at our manner of ſerving God. Such is their evil hap to play upon dull ſpirited men. We are ſtill perſuaded that a bare denial is anſwer ſufficient to things which mere fancy objecteth; and that the beſt apology to words of ſcorn and petulancy, is Iſaac's apology to his brother Iſhmael, the apology which patience and ſilence maketh. Our anſwer therefore to their reaſons is, No; to their ſcoffs, nothing. BOOK V.

31. When they object that our book requireth nothing to be done, which a child may not do as *lawfully and as well as that man wherewith the book contenteth itſelf*[a], is it their meaning that the ſervice of God ought to be a matter of great difficulty, a labour which requireth great learning and deep ſkill, or elſe that the book containing it ſhould teach what men are fit to attend upon it, and forbid either men unlearned, or children, to be admitted thereunto? In ſetting down the form of Common Prayer there was no need that the book ſhould mention either the learning of a fit, or the unfitneſs of an ignorant miniſter, more than that he which deſcribeth the manner how to pitch a field, ſhould ſpeak of moderation and ſobriety in diet. And concerning the duty itſelf, although the hardneſs thereof be not ſuch as needeth much art, yet ſurely they ſeem to be very far carried beſides themſelves, to whom the dignity of public Prayer doth not diſcover ſomewhat more fitneſs in men of gravity and ripe diſcretion, than in *children of ten years of age*, for the decent diſcharge and performance of that office. It cannot be that they who ſpeak thus, ſhould thus judge. At the board and in private Eaſineſs of praying after our form.

[a] T. C. l. i. p. 133. & l. iii. p. 184. Another fault in the whole Service or Liturgy of England is, for that it maintaineth an unpreaching miniſtry in requiring nothing to be done by the miniſter which a child of ten years old cannot do as well, and as lawfully as that man, wherewith the book contenteth itſelf.

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BOOK V. it very well becometh children's innocency to pray, and their elders to ſay *Amen*. Which being a part of their virtuous education, ſerveth greatly both to nouriſh in them the fear of God, and to put us in continual remembrance of that powerful grace which openeth the mouths of infants to ſound his praiſe. But public Prayer, the ſervice of God in the ſolemn aſſembly of Saints, is a work, though eaſy, yet withal ſo weighty and of ſuch reſpect, that the great facility thereof is but a ſlender argument to prove it may be as well and as lawfully committed to children, as to men of years, howſoever their ability of learning be but only to do that in decent order, wherewith the book contenteth itſelf. The book requireth but orderly reading. As in truth, what ſhould any preſcript form of Prayer framed to the miniſter's hand require, but only ſo to be read as behoveth? We know that there be in the world certain voluntary overſeers of all books, whoſe cenſure in this reſpect would fall as ſharp on us, as it hath done on many others, if delivering but a form of Prayer, we ſhould either expreſs or include any thing, more than what doth properly concern Prayer. The miniſter's greatneſs or meanneſs of knowledge to do other things, his aptneſs or inſufficiency otherwiſe than by reading to inſtruct the flock, ſtandeth in this place as a ſtranger with whom our form of Common Prayer hath nothing to do. Wherein their exception againſt eaſineſs, as if that did nouriſh ignorance, proceedeth altogether out of a needleſs jealouſy. I have often heard it enquired of by many, how it might be brought to paſs, that the Church ſhould every where have preachers to inſtruct the people; what impediments there are to hinder it; and which were the ſpeedieſt way to remove them. In which conſultation, the multitude of pariſhes, the paucity of ſchools, the manifold diſcouragements which are offered unto men's inclinations that way, the penury of the Eccleſiaſtical eſtate, the irrecoverable loſs of ſo many livings

livings of principal value, clean taken away from the Church long ſithence by being appropriated, the daily bruiſes that ſpiritual promotions uſe to take by often falling, the want of ſomewhat in certain ſtatutes which concern the ſtate of the Church, the too great facility of many Biſhops, the ſtony hardneſs of too many Patrons' hearts, not touched with any feeling in this caſe: ſuch things oftentimes are debated, and much thought upon by them that enter into any diſcourſe concerning any defect of knowledge in the Clergy. But whoſoever be found guilty, the Communion-Book hath ſurely deſerved leaſt to be called in queſtion for this fault. If all the Clergy were as learned as themſelves are that moſt complain of ignorance in others, yet our book of Prayer might remain the ſame; and remaining the ſame it is, I ſee not how it can be a let unto any man's ſkill in preaching; which thing we acknowledge to be God's good gift, howbeit no ſuch neceſſary element, that every act of religion ſhould be thought imperfect and lame, wherein there is not ſomewhat exacted that none can diſcharge but an able preacher. BOOK

32. Two faults there are which our Lord and Saviour himſelf eſpecially reproved in Prayer; the one, when oſtentation did cauſe it to be open; the other, when ſuperſtition made it long. As therefore prayers the one way are faulty, not whenſoever they be openly made, but when hypocriſy is the cauſe of open praying; ſo the length of Prayer is likewiſe a fault, howbeit not ſimply, but where error and ſuperſtition cauſeth more than convenient repetition or continuation of ſpeech to be uſed. It is not, as ſome do imagine, (ſaith St. Auguſtine,) that long praying is that fault of much ſpeaking in Prayer, which our Saviour did reprove; for then would not he himſelf in Prayer have continued whole nights. *Uſe in Prayer no vain ſuperfluity of words as the Heathens do, for they imagine that their much ſpeaking will cauſe them to be heard:* whereas in truth the thing which God doth regard is The length of our Service. T. C. l. i. p. 133. & l. iii. p. 184. Aug. Ep. 121. Luke vi. 12.

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BOOK V. how virtuous their minds are, and not how copious their tongues in Prayer; how well they think, and not how long they talk who come to preſent their ſupplications before him. Notwithſtanding, for as much as in public Prayer we are not only to conſider what is needful in reſpect of God, but there is alſo in men that which we muſt regard; we ſomewhat the rather incline to length, leſt over-quick diſpatch of a duty ſo important ſhould give the world occaſion to deem that the thing itſelf is but little accounted of, wherein but little time is beſtowed. Length thereof is a thing which the gravity and weight of ſuch actions doth require. Beſide, this benefit alſo it hath, that they whom earneſt lets and impediments do often hinder from being partakers of the whole, have yet, through the length of divine ſervice, opportunity left them, at the leaſt, for acceſs unto ſome reaſonable part thereof. Again, it ſhould be conſidered, how it doth come to paſs that we are ſo long. For if that very ſervice of God in the Jewiſh Synagogues, which our Lord did approve and ſanctify with the preſence of his own perſon, had ſo large portions of the Law and the Prophets, together with ſo many prayers and pſalms read day by day, as do equal in a manner the length of ours, and yet in that reſpect was never thought to deſerve blame, is it now an offence that the like meaſure of time is beſtowed in the like manner? Peradventure the Church hath not now the leiſure which it had then, or elſe thoſe things whereupon ſo much time was then well ſpent, have ſithence that loſt their dignity and worth. If the reading of the Law, the Prophets, and Pſalms, be a part of the ſervice of God as needful under Chriſt as before, and the adding of the New Teſtament as profitable as the ordaining of the Old to be read; if therewith, inſtead of Jewiſh prayers, it be alſo for the good of the Church to annex
1 Tim. ii. 1, 2. that variety which the Apoſtle doth commend, ſeeing that the time which we ſpend is no more than the orderly

orderly performance of theſe things neceſſarily required, why are we thought to exceed in length? Words, be they never ſo few, are too many when they benefit not the hearer. But he which ſpeaketh no more than edifieth, is undeſervedly reprehended for much ſpeaking. That as *the Devil under the colour of long prayer drave preaching out of the Church* heretofore, *ſo we, in appointing ſo long prayers and readings, whereby the leſs can be ſpent in preaching, maintain an unpreaching miniſtry*, is neither adviſedly nor truly ſpoken. They reprove long prayer, and yet acknowledge it to be in itſelf a thing commendable; for ſo it muſt needs be, if the Devil have uſed it as a colour to hide his malicious practices. When malice would work that which is evil, and in working avoid the ſuſpicion of any evil intent, the colour wherewith it overcaſteth itſelf is always a fair and plauſible pretence of ſeeking to further that which is good. So that if we both retain that good which Satan hath pretended to ſeek, and avoid the evil which his purpoſe was to effect, have we not better prevented his malice, than if, as he hath under colour of long prayer driven preaching out of the Church, ſo we ſhould take the quarrel of ſermons in hand, and revenge their cauſe by requital, thruſting Prayer in a manner out of doors under colour of long preaching? In caſe our prayers being made at their full length did neceſſarily enforce ſermons to be the ſhorter, yet neither were this to uphold and maintain an unpreaching miniſtry, unleſs we will ſay that thoſe ancient Fathers, Chryſoſtom, Auguſtine, Leo, and the reſt whoſe homilies in that conſideration were ſhorter for the moſt part than our ſermons are, did then not preach when the ſpeeches were not long. The neceſſity of ſhortneſs cauſeth men to cut off impertinent diſcourſes, and to compriſe much matter in few words. But neither did it maintain inability, nor at all prevent opportunity of preaching, as long as a competent time is granted for that purpoſe. *An hour and an half* is,

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T. C. l. iii. p. 184.

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they ſay, in reformed Churches ordinarily thought reaſonable, for *their whole Liturgy or Service.* Do we then continue, as Ezra did, in reading the Law from morning till mid-day? or, as the Apoſtle St. Paul did, in prayer and preaching, till men through wearineſs be taken up dead at our feet? The huge length whereof they make ſuch complaint is but this, that if our whole form of Prayer be read, and beſides an hour allowed for a ſermon, we ſpend ordinarily in both more time than they do by half an hour. Which half-hour being ſuch a matter as the *age of ſome, and the infirmity of other ſome, are not able to bear*; if we have any ſenſe of the *common imbecility*, if any care to preſerve men's wits from being broken with the very *bent of ſo long attention*, if any love or deſire to provide that things moſt holy be not with hazard of men's ſouls abhorred and loathed, this half-hour's tediouſneſs muſt be remedied, and that only by cutting off the greateſt part of our Common Prayer. For no other remedy will ſerve to help ſo dangerous an inconvenience.

Neh. viii. 3.

Acts xx. 9.

Inſtead of ſuch prayers as the primitive Churches have uſed, and thoſe that the reformed now uſe: we have (they ſay) divers ſhort cuts or ſhreddings, rather wiſhes than prayers. T. C. l. i. p. 138. & l. iii. p. 210, 211.

33. The brethren in Egypt (ſaith St. Auguſtine, Epiſt. cxxi.) are reported to have many prayers, but every one of them very ſhort, as if they were darts thrown out with a kind of ſudden quickneſs, leſt that vigilant and erect attention of mind which in Prayer is very neceſſary, ſhould be waſted or dulled through continuance, if their prayers were few and long. But that which St. Auguſtine doth allow, they condemn. Thoſe prayers whereunto devout minds have added a piercing kind of brevity, as well in that reſpect which we have already mentioned, as alſo thereby the better to expreſs that quick and ſpeedy expedition wherewith ardent affections, the very wings of Prayer, are delighted to preſent our ſuits in Heaven, even ſooner than our tongues can deviſe to utter them; they in their mood of contradiction ſpare not openly to deride, and that with ſo baſe terms as do very ill beſeem men of their gravity. Such ſpeeches are ſcandalous, they

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favour not of God in him that uſeth them, and unto virtuouſly diſpoſed minds they are grievous corroſives. Our caſe were miſerable, if that wherewith we moſt endeavour to pleaſe God were in his ſight ſo vile and deſpicable, as men's diſdainful ſpeech would make it.

Leſſons intermingled with our prayers.

34. Again, for as much as effectual Prayer is joined with a vehement intention of the inferior powers of the ſoul, which cannot therein long continue without pain, it hath been therefore thought good ſo by turns to interpoſe ſtill ſomewhat for the higher part of the mind, the underſtanding, to work upon, that both being kept in continual exerciſe with variety, neither might feel any great wearineſs, and yet each be a ſpur to other. For Prayer kindleth our deſire to behold God by ſpeculation; and the mind, delighted with that contemplative ſight of God, taketh every where new inflammations to pray, the riches of the myſteries of heavenly wiſdom continually ſtirring up in us correſpondent deſires towards them. So that he which prayeth in due ſort is thereby made the more attentive to hear, and he which heareth, the more earneſt to pray, for the time which we beſtow as well in the one as the other. But for what cauſe ſoever we do it, this intermingling of leſſons with prayers is[a], in their taſte, a thing as unſavoury, and as unſeemly in their ſight, as if the like ſhould be done in ſuits and ſupplications before ſome mighty

[a] We have no ſuch forms in Scripture as that we ſhould pray in two or three lines, and then after having read awhile ſome other thing, come and pray as much more, and ſo the twentieth or the thirtieth time, with pauſes between. If a man ſhould come to a prince, and having very many things to demand, after he had demanded one thing, would ſtay a long time and then demand another, and ſo the third: the prince might well think that either he came to aſk before he knew what he had need of, or that he had forgotten ſome piece of his ſuit, or that he were diſtracted in his underſtanding, or ſome other like cauſe of the diſorder of his ſupplication. T. C. l. i. p. 138. This kind of reaſon the Prophet in the matter of ſacrifices doth uſe. T. C. l. iii. p. 210.

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prince of the world. Our ſpeech to worldly ſuperiors we frame in ſuch ſort as ſerveth beſt to inform and perſuade the minds of them who otherwiſe neither could nor would greatly regard our neceſſities: whereas, becauſe we know that God is indeed a king, but a great king, who underſtandeth all things beforehand, which nó other king beſides doth, a king which needeth not to be informed what we lack, a king readier to grant than we to make our requeſts; therefore in Prayer we do not ſo much reſpect what precepts art delivereth, touching the method of perſuaſive utterance in the preſence of great men, as what doth moſt avail to our own edification in piety and godly zeal. If they on the contrary ſide do think, that the ſame rules of decency which ſerve for things done unto terrene powers, ſhould univerſally decide what is fit in the ſervice of God; if it be their meaning to hold it for a maxim, that the Church muſt deliver her public ſupplications unto God, in no other form of ſpeech than ſuch as were decent, if ſuit ſhould be made to the great Turk or ſome other monarch, let them apply their own rule unto their own form of Common Prayer. Suppoſe that the people of a whole town, with ſome choſen men before them, did continually twice or thrice a week reſort to their king, and every time they come, firſt acknowledge themſelves guilty of rebellions and treaſons, then ſing a ſong, and after that explain ſome ſtatute of the land to the ſtanders by, and therein ſpend at the leaſt an hour; this done, turn themſelves again to the king, and for every ſort of his ſubjects crave ſomewhat of him; at the length ſing him another ſong, and ſo take their leave: might not the king well think, that either they knew not what they would have, or elſe that they were diſtracted in mind, or ſome other ſuch like cauſe of the diſorder of their ſupplication? This form of ſuing unto kings were abſurd: this form of praying unto God they allow.

allow. When God was ſerved with legal ſacrifices, ſuch was the miſerable and wretched diſpoſition of ſome men's minds, that the beſt of every thing they had being culled out for themſelves, if there were in their flocks any poor, ſtarved, or diſeaſed thing, not worth the keeping, they thought it good enough for the altar of God, pretending (as wiſe hypocrites do, when they rob God to enrich themſelves) that the fatneſs of calves doth benefit him nothing; to us the beſt things are moſt profitable; to him all is one, if the mind of the offerer be good, which is the only thing he reſpecteth. In reproof of which their devout fraud, the prophet Malachi allegeth, that gifts are offered unto God, not as [a] ſupplies of his want indeed, but yet as teſtimonies of that affection wherewith we acknowledge and honour his greatneſs. For which cauſe, ſith the greater they are whom we honour, the more regard we have to the quality and choice of thoſe preſents which we bring them for honour's ſake; it muſt needs follow that if we dare not diſgrace our worldly ſuperiors with offering unto them ſuch refuſe as we bring unto God himſelf, we ſhew plainly that our acknowledgment of his greatneſs is but feigned; in heart we fear him not ſo much as we dread them. *If ye offer the blind for a ſacrifice, is it not evil?—Offer it now unto thy prince; will he be content or accept thy perſon? ſaith the Lord of Hoſts. Curſed be the deceiver which hath in his flock a male, and having made a vow, ſacrificeth unto the Lord a corrupt thing: for I am a great king, ſaith the Lord of Hoſts.* Should we hereupon frame a rule, that what form of ſpeech or behaviour ſoever is fit for

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Mal. i. 8.

ver. 14.

[a] Μίμη δὲ τιμῆς—δῶρα, τὰ παρ' ἑκάστοις τίμια. Καὶ γὰρ τὸ δῶρόν ἐστι κτήματος δόσις ἡ τιμῆς σημεῖον. Διὸ καὶ οἱ φιλοχρήματοι καὶ οἱ φιλότιμοι ἐφίενται αὐτῶν. Ἀμφοτέροις γὰρ ἔχει ὧν δέονται. Καὶ γὰρ κτῆμά ἐστιν ἃ ἐφίενται οἱ φιλοχρήματοι, καὶ τιμὴν ἔχει οὗ οἱ φιλότιμοι. Ariſt. Rhet. lib. i. cap. 5.

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ſuiters in a Prince's court, the ſame and no other beſeemeth us in our prayers to Almighty God?

The number of our prayers for earthly things, and our oft rehearſing of the Lord's Prayer.

35. But in vain we labour to perſuade them that any thing can take away the tedioufneſs of prayer, except it be brought to the very ſame, both meaſure and form, which themſelves aſſign. Whatſoever therefore our Liturgy hath more than theirs, under one deviſed pretence or other they cut it off. We have of prayers for earthly things in their opinion too great a number; ſo oft to rehearſe the Lord's Prayer in ſo ſmall a time is, as they think, a loſs of time; [a] the people's praying after the miniſter, they ſay, both waſteth time, and alſo maketh an unpleaſant ſound; the Pſalms they would not have to be made (as they are) a part of our Common Prayer, nor to be ſung or ſaid by turns, nor ſuch muſic to be uſed with them; thoſe Evangelical hymns they allow not to ſtand in our Liturgy; the Litany, the Creed of Athanaſius, the Sentence of Glory, wherewith we uſe to conclude pſalms—theſe things they cancel, as having been inſtituted in regard of occaſions peculiar to the times of old, and as being therefore now ſuperfluous. Touching prayers for

[a] I can make no geometrical and exact meaſure, but verily I believe there ſhall be found more than a third part of the prayers, which are not pſalms and texts of Scripture, ſpent in praying for, and praying againſt the commodities and incommodities of this life, which is contrary to all the arguments or contents of the prayers of the Church ſet down in the Scripture, and eſpecially of our Saviour Chriſt's prayer, by the which ours ought to be directed. T. C. l. i. p. 136. What a reaſon is this, we muſt repeat the Lord's Prayer oftentimes, therefore oftentimes in half an hour, and one in the neck of another? Our Saviour Chriſt doth not there give a preſcript form of prayer whereunto he bindeth us: but giveth us a rule and ſquare to frame all our prayers by. I know it is neceſſary to pray, and pray often. I know alſo that in a few words it is impoſſible for any man to frame ſo pithy a prayer, and I confeſs that the Church doth well in concluding their prayers with the Lord's Prayer: but I ſtand upon this, that there is no neceſſity laid upon us to uſe theſe very words and no more. T. C. l. i. p. 219.

things

things earthly, we ought not to think that the Church hath ſet down ſo many of them without cauſe. They peradventure, which find this fault, are of the ſame affection with Solomon; ſo that if God ſhould offer to grant them whatſoever they aſk, they would neither crave riches, nor length of days, nor yet victory over their enemies, but only an underſtanding heart; for which cauſe themſelves having eagles' wings, are offended to ſee others fly ſo near the ground. But the tender kindneſs of the Church of God it very well beſeemeth to help the weaker ſort, which are by ſo great odds more in number, although ſome few of the perfecter and ſtronger may be therewith for a time diſpleaſed. Ignorant we are not, that of ſuch as reſorted to our Saviour Chriſt being preſent on earth, there came not any unto him with better ſucceſs for the benefit of their ſouls' everlaſting happineſs, than they whoſe bodily neceſſities gave them the firſt occaſion to ſeek relief, where they ſaw willingneſs and ability of doing every way good unto all. The graces of the Spirit are much more precious than worldly benefits; our ghoſtly evils of greater importance than any harm which the body feeleth. Therefore our deſires to heaven-ward ſhould both in meaſure and number no leſs exceed, than their glorious object doth every way excel in value. Theſe things are true and plain in the eye of a perfect judgment. But yet it muſt be withal conſidered, that the greateſt part of the world are they which be fartheſt from perfection. Such being better able by ſenſe to diſcern the wants of this preſent life, than by ſpiritual capacity to apprehend things above ſenſe which tend to their happineſs in the world to come, are in that reſpect the more apt to apply their minds even with hearty affection and zeal at the leaſt unto thoſe branches of public Prayer wherein their own particular is moved. And by this mean there ſtealeth upon them a double benefit; firſt, becauſe that good affection which

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things of ſmaller account have once ſet on work is by ſo much the more eaſily raiſed higher; and ſecondly, in that the very cuſtom of ſeeking ſo particular aid and relief at the hands of God, doth by a ſecret contradiction withdraw them from endeavouring to help themſelves by thoſe wicked ſhifts, which they know can never have his allowance whoſe aſſiſtance their prayer ſeeketh. Theſe multiplied petitions of worldly things in prayer have therefore, beſides their direct uſe, a ſervice, whereby the Church underhand, through a kind of heavenly fraud, taketh therewith the ſouls of men as with certain baits. If then their calculation be true, (for ſo they reckon,) that a full third of our prayers be allotted unto earthly benefits, for which our Saviour in his platform hath appointed but one petition amongſt ſeven, the difference is without any great diſagreement; we reſpecting what men are, and doing that which is meet in regard of the common imperfection; our Lord contrariwiſe propoſing the moſt abſolute proportion that can be in heavenly deſires, the very higheſt mark whereat we are able to aim. For which cauſe alſo our cuſtom is both to place it in the front of our prayers as a guide [a], and to add it in the end of ſome principal limbs or parts, as a complement which fully perfecteth whatſoever may be defective in the reſt. Twice we rehearſe it ordinarily, and oftener as occaſion requireth more ſolemnity or length in the form of divine ſervice; not miſtruſting, till theſe new curioſities ſprang up, that ever any man would think our labour herein miſſpent, the time waſtefully conſumed, and the office itſelf made worſe, by ſo repeating that which otherwiſe would more hardly be made familiar to the ſimpler ſort; for the good of whoſe ſouls there is

[a] Præmiſſa legitima et ordinaria oratione, quaſi fundamento, accidentium jus eſt deſideriorum, jus eſt ſuperſtruendi extrinſecus petitiones. Tertul. de Orat.

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not in Christian Religion any thing of like continual use and force throughout every hour and moment of their whole lives. I mean not only because Prayer, but because this very Prayer is of such efficacy and necessity: for that our Saviour did but set men a bare example how to contrive or devise prayers of their own, and no way bind them to use this, is no doubt an error. John the Baptist's Disciples, which had been always brought up in the bosom of God's Church from the time of their first infancy, till they came to the school of John, were not so brutish that they could be ignorant how to call upon the name of God; but of their Master they had received a form of Prayer amongst themselves, which form none did use saving his Disciples, so that by it, as by a mark of special difference, they were known from others. And of this the Apostles having taken notice, they request that as John had taught his, so Christ would likewise teach them to pray. Tertullian and St. Augustine do for that cause term it, *Orationem legitimam*, the Prayer which Christ's own Law hath tied his Church to use in the same prescript form of words wherewith he himself did deliver it; and therefore what part of the world soever we fall into, if Christian Religion have been there received, the ordinary use of this very Prayer hath with equal continuance accompanied the same, as one of the principal and most material duties of honour done to Jesus Christ. *Seeing that we have* (saith St. Cyprian) *an Advocate with the Father for our sins, when we that have sinned come to seek for pardon, let us allege unto God the words which our Advocate hath taught. For sith his promise is our plain warrant, that in his name what we ask we shall receive, must we not needs much the rather obtain that for which we sue, if not only his name do countenance, but also his speech present our requests?* Though men should speak with the tongues of Angels, yet words so pleasing to the ears of God as those which the Son of God himself hath composed, were

Luke xi. 1.

Cypr. in Orat. Dom. p. 140. par. 1. ed. Oxon.

BOOK V. were not poſſible for men to frame. He therefore which made us to live, hath alſo taught us to pray, to the end that, ſpeaking unto the Father in his Son's own preſcript form, without ſcholy or gloſs of ours, we may be ſure that we utter nothing which God will either diſallow or deny. Other prayers we uſe many beſides this, and this oftener than any other; although not tied ſo to do by any commandment of Scripture, yet moved with ſuch conſiderations as have been before ſet down: the cauſeleſs diſlike whereof which others have conceived, is no ſufficient reaſon for us as much as once to forbear, in any place, a thing which, uttered with true devotion and zeal of heart, affordeth to God himſelf that glory, that aid to the weakeſt ſort of men, to the moſt perfect that ſolid comfort which is unſpeakable.

The people's saying after the miniſter.

36. With our Lord's Prayer they would find no fault, ſo that they might perſuade us to uſe it before or after ſermons only, (becauſe ſo their manner is,) and not (as all Chriſtian people have been of old accuſtomed) inſert it ſo often in the Liturgy. But the people's cuſtom to repeat any thing after the miniſter, they utterly miſlike[a]. Twice we appoint that the words which the miniſter firſt pronounceth, the whole congregation ſhall repeat after him: as firſt in the public confeſſion of ſins, and again in rehearſal of our Lord's Prayer preſently after the bleſſed Sacrament of his Body and Blood received—a thing no way offenſive, no way unfit or unſeemly to be done, although it had been ſo appointed oftener than with

[a] Another fault is, that all the people are appointed in divers places to ſay after the miniſter, whereby not only the time is unprofitably waſted, and a confuſed noiſe of the people (one ſpeaking after another) cauſed, but an opinion bred in their heads, that thoſe only be their prayers which they pronounce with their own mouths after the miniſter, otherwiſe than the order which is left to the Church doth bear, 1 Cor. xiv. 16. and otherwiſe than Juſtin Martyr ſheweth the cuſtom of the Churches to have been in his time. T. C. l. i. p. 139, & l. iii. p. 211, 212, 213.

us it is. But ſurely, with ſo good reaſon it ſtandeth in thoſe two places, that otherwiſe to order it were not in all reſpects ſo well. Could there be any thing deviſed better, than that we all, at our firſt acceſs unto God by prayer, ſhould acknowledge meekly our ſins, and that not only in heart but with tongue; all which are preſent being made ear-witneſſes even of every man's diſtinct and deliberate aſſent unto each particular branch of a common indictment drawn againſt ourſelves? How were it poſſible that the Church ſhould any way elſe with ſuch eaſe and certainty provide that none of her children may, as Adam, diſſemble that wretchedneſs, the penitent confeſſion whereof is ſo neceſſary a preamble, eſpecially to common Prayer? In like manner, if the Church did ever deviſe a thing fit and convenient, what more than this, that when together we have all received thoſe heavenly myſteries wherein Chriſt imparteth himſelf unto us, and giveth viſible teſtification of our bleſſed communion with him, we ſhould, in hatred of all hereſies, factions, and ſchiſms, the paſtor as a leader, the people as willing followers of him ſtep by ſtep, declare openly ourſelves united as brethren in one, by offering up with all our hearts and tongues that moſt effectual ſupplication [a], wherein he unto whom we offer it hath himſelf not only comprehended all our neceſſities, but in ſuch ſort alſo framed every petition, as might moſt naturally ſerve for many, and doth, though not always require, yet always import a multitude of ſpeakers together? For which cauſe communicants have ever uſed it, and we at that time by the form of our very utterance do ſhew we uſe it, yea, every word and ſyllable of it, as communicants. In the reſt we obſerve that cuſtom whereunto St. Paul alludeth, and whereof the Fathers of the Church in their writings make often mention, to ſhew indefi- 1 Cor. xiv. 16.

[a] Τίς γὰρ ἔτι ἐχθρὸν ἡγεῖσθαι δύναται μεθ' ἧς μίαν ἀφῆκε πρὸς Θεὸν τὴν φωνήν; Baſil. in Pſal. i. p. 108. C. ed. Par. 1638.

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nitely what was done, but not univerſally to bind for ever all prayers unto one only faſhion of utterance. The reaſons which we have alleged induce us to think it ſtill a good work, which they in their penſive care for the well beſtowing of time account waſte. As for unpleaſantneſs of ſound, if it happen, the good of men's ſouls doth either deceive our ears that we note it not, or arm them with patience to endure it. We are not ſo nice as to caſt away a ſharp knife, becauſe the edge of it may ſometimes grate; and ſuch ſubtil opinions, as few but Utopians are likely to fall into, we in this climate do not greatly fear.

Our manner of reading the Pſalms, otherwiſe than the reſt of the Scripture.

37. The complaint which they make about pſalms and hymns, might as well be overpaſt without any anſwer, as it is without any cauſe brought forth. But our deſire is to content them, if it may be, and to yield them a juſt reaſon even of the leaſt things, wherein undeſervedly they have but as much as dreamed or ſuſpected that we do amiſs. They ſeem ſometimes ſo to ſpeak, as if it greatly offended them that ſuch hymns and pſalms as are Scripture ſhould in Common Prayer be otherwiſe uſed than the reſt of the Scripture is wont [a]; ſometimes diſpleaſed they are at the artificial muſic which we add unto pſalms of this kind, or of any other nature elſe; ſometime the plaineſt and the moſt intelligible rehearſal of them yet they favour not, becauſe it is done by interlocution, and with a mutual return of ſentences from ſide to ſide. They are not ignorant what difference there is between other parts of Scripture and Pſalms. The choice and flower of [b] all things profitable in other books, the

[a] They have always the ſame profit to be ſtudied in, to be read, and preached upon, which other Scriptures have, and this above the reſt, that they are to be ſung. But to make daily prayers of them, hand over head, or otherwiſe than the preſent eſtate wherein we be doth agree with the matter contained in them, is an abuſing of them. T. C. l. iii. p. 206.

[b] Ἡ περικτικὴ τῶν παντέλων ὑμνολογία. Dionyſ. Hierar. Eccleſ. cap. iii.

pſalms do both more briefly contain, and more movingly alſo expreſs, by reaſon of that poetical form wherewith they are written. The ancients, when they ſpeak of the Book of Pſalms, uſe to fall into large diſcourſes, ſhewing how this part above the reſt doth of purpoſe ſet forth and celebrate all the conſiderations and operations which belong to God; it magnifieth the holy meditations and actions of divine men; it is of things heavenly an univerſal declaration, working in them whoſe hearts God inſpireth with the due conſideration thereof, an habit or diſpoſition of mind whereby they are made fit veſſels, both for receipt and for delivery of whatſoever ſpiritual perfection. What is there neceſſary for man to know, which the Pſalms are not able to teach? They are to beginners an eaſy and familiar introduction, a mighty augmentation of all virtue and knowledge in ſuch as are entered before, a ſtrong confirmation to the moſt perfect amongſt others. Heroical magnanimity, exquiſite juſtice, grave moderation, exact wiſdom, repentance unfeigned, unwearied patience, the myſteries of God, the ſufferings of Chriſt, the terrors of wrath, the comforts of grace, the works of Providence over this world, and the promiſed joys of that world which is to come, all good neceſſarily to be either known, or done, or had, this one celeſtial fountain yieldeth. Let there be any grief or diſeaſe incident unto the ſoul of man, any wound or ſickneſs named, for which there is not in this treaſure-houſe a preſent comfortable remedy at all times ready to be found. Hereof it is, that we covet to make the Pſalms eſpecially familiar unto all. This is the very cauſe why we iterate the Pſalms oftener than any other part of Scripture beſides; the cauſe wherefore we inure the people together with their miniſter, and not the miniſter alone, to read them as other parts of Scripture he doth. BOOK V.

38. Touching muſical harmony whether by inſtrument or by voice, it being but of high and low in ſounds Of muſic with pſalms.

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ſounds a due proportionable diſpoſition, ſuch notwithſtanding is the force thereof, and ſo pleaſing effects it hath in that very part of man which is moſt divine, that ſome have been thereby induced to think that the ſoul itſelf by nature is, or hath in it harmony; a thing which delighteth all ages, and beſeemeth all ſtates; a thing as ſeaſonable in grief as in joy; as decent being added unto actions of greateſt weight and ſolemnity, as being uſed when men moſt ſequeſter themſelves from action. The reaſon hereof is an admirable facility which muſic hath to expreſs and repreſent to the mind, more inwardly than any other ſenſible mean, the very ſtanding, riſing, and falling, the very ſteps and inflections every way, the turns and varieties of all paſſions, whereunto the mind is ſubject; yea, ſo to imitate them, that, whether it reſemble unto us the ſame ſtate wherein our minds already are, or a clean contrary, we are not more contentedly by the one confirmed, than changed and led away by the other. In harmony the very image and character even of Virtue and Vice is perceived, the mind delighted with their reſemblances, and brought by having them often iterated into a love of the things themſelves. For which cauſe there is nothing more contagious and peſtilent than ſome kinds of harmony; than ſome, nothing more ſtrong and potent unto good. And that there is ſuch a difference of one kind from another we need no proof but our own experience, in as much as we are at the hearing of ſome more inclined unto ſorrow and heavineſs, of ſome more mollified and ſoftened in mind; one kind apter to ſtay and ſettle us, another to move and ſtir our affections; there is that draweth to a marvellous grave and ſober mediocrity; there is alſo that carrieth as it were into ecſtaſies, filling the mind with an heavenly joy, and for the time in a manner ſevering it from the body: ſo that, although we lay altogether aſide the conſideration of ditty or matter, the very harmony of ſounds being framed in due ſort, and carried from

the ear to the ſpiritual faculties of our ſouls, is by a native puiſſance and efficacy greatly available to bring to a perfect temper whatſoever is there troubled, apt as well to quicken the ſpirits as to allay that which is too eager, ſovereign againſt melancholy and deſpair, forcible to draw forth tears of devotion, if the mind be ſuch as can yield them, able both to move and to moderate all affections. The prophet David having therefore ſingular knowledge, not in poetry alone, but in muſic alſo, judged them both to be things moſt neceſſary for the Houſe of God, left behind him to that purpoſe a number of divinely indited poems, and was further the author of adding unto poetry melody in public Prayer, melody both vocal and inſtrumental for the raiſing up of men's hearts, and the ſweetening of their affections towards God. In which conſiderations the Church of Chriſt doth likewiſe at this preſent day retain it as an ornament to God's ſervice, and an help to our own devotion. They which, under pretence of the Law ceremonial abrogated, require the abrogation of inſtrumental muſic, approving nevertheleſs the uſe of vocal melody to remain, muſt ſhew ſome reaſon wherefore the one ſhould be thought a legal ceremony and not the other. In Church muſic curioſity and oſtentation of art, wanton, or light, or unſuitable harmony, ſuch as only pleaſeth the ear, and doth not naturally ſerve to the very kind and degree of thoſe impreſſions which the matter that goeth with it leaveth, or is apt to leave in men's minds, doth rather blemiſh and diſgrace that we do, than add either beauty or furtherance unto it. On the other ſide, the faults prevented, the force and efficacy of the thing itſelf, when it drowneth not utterly, but fitly ſuiteth with matter altogether ſounding to the praiſe of God, is in truth moſt admirable, and doth much edify, if not the underſtanding, becauſe it teacheth not, yet ſurely the affection, becauſe therein it worketh much. They muſt have hearts very dry and tough, from whom

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whom the melody of the Pſalms doth not ſometime draw that wherein a mind religiouſly affected delighteth. Be it as Rabanus Maurus obſerveth, that at the firſt the Church in this exerciſe was more ſimple and plain than we are; that their ſinging was little more than only a melodious kind of pronunciation; that the cuſtom which we now uſe was not inſtituted ſo much for their cauſe which are ſpiritual, as to the end that into groſſer and heavier minds, whom bare words do not eaſily move, the ſweetneſs of melody might make ſome entrance for good things. St. Baſil himſelf acknowledging as much, did not think that from ſuch inventions the leaſt jot of eſtimation and credit thereby ſhould be derogated: [a] *For* (ſaith he) *whereas the holy Spirit ſaw that mankind is unto virtue hardly drawn, and that righteouſneſs is the leaſt accounted of, by reaſon of the proneneſs of our affections to that which delighteth; it pleaſed the wiſdom of the ſame Spirit to borrow from melody that pleaſure which, mingled with heavenly myſteries, cauſeth the ſmoothneſs and ſoftneſs of that which toucheth the ear, to convey, as it were by ſtealth, the treaſure of good things into man's mind. To this purpoſe were thoſe harmonious tunes of pſalms deviſed for us, that they which are either in years but young, or touching perfection of virtue as yet not grown to ripeneſs, might, when they think they ſing, learn. O the wiſe conceit of that heavenly Teacher which hath by his ſkill found out a way, that doing thoſe things wherein we delight we may alſo learn that whereby we profit!*

[a] Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εἶδε τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον δυσάγωγον πρὸς ἀρετὴν τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ διὰ τὸ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἐπιῤῥεπὲς τὸ ὀρθῦ βίου καταμελεῖτας ἡμᾶς, τί ποιεῖ; τὸ ἐκ τῆς μελῳδίας τερπνὸν τοῖς δόγμασιν ἐγκατίμιξεν, ἵνα τῷ προσηνεῖ καὶ λείῳ τῆς ἀκοῆς τὸ ἐκ τῶν λόγων ὠφέλιμον λαθανόντως ὑποδιξώμεθα.—Διὰ τοῦτο, τὰ ἐναρμόνια ταῦτα μέλη τῶν ψαλμῶν ἡμῖν ἐπινενόηται, ἵνα οἱ παῖδες τὴν ἡλικίαν ἢ καὶ ὅλως οἱ νεαροὶ τὸ ἦθος τῇ ᾠδικῇ μελῳδῶσι, τῇ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐκπαιδεύωνται.—Ὦ τῆς ἐπινοίας τοῦ διδασκάλου ὑμῶν τε ἅδειν ἡμᾶς καὶ τὰ λυσιτελῆ μανθάνειν μεμηχανῆσθε. Basil. in Pſal. i. C. p. 107. tom. i. ed. Par.

Of ſinging or ſaying pſalms and other parts of Common Prayer, wherein the people and miniſter anſwer one another by courſe.

39. And if the prophet David did think that the very meeting of men together, and their accompanying one another to the Houſe of God, ſhould make the bond of their love inſoluble, and tie them in a league of inviolable amity, Pſal. lv. 14[a]; how much more may we judge it reaſonable to hope that the like effects may grow in each of the people towards other, in them all towards their paſtor, and in their paſtor towards every of them; between whom there daily and interchangeably paſs in the hearing of God himſelf, and in the preſence of his holy Angels, ſo many heavenly acclamations, exultations, provocations, petitions, ſongs of comfort, pſalms of praiſe and thankſgiving? in all which particulars, as when the paſtor maketh their ſuits, and they with one voice teſtify a general aſſent thereunto; or when he joyfully beginneth, and they with like alacrity follow, dividing between them the ſentences wherewith they ſtrive which ſhall moſt ſhew his own and ſtir up others' zeal, to the glory of that God whoſe name they magnify, or when he propoſeth unto God their neceſſities, and they their own requeſts for relief in every of them; or when he lifteth up his voice like a trumpet to proclaim unto them the Laws of God, they adjoining, though not as Iſrael did, by way of generality, a cheerful promiſe, *All that the Lord hath commanded, we will do*; yet that which God doth no leſs approve, that which ſavoureth more of meekneſs, that which teſtifieth rather a feeling knowledge of our common imbecility, unto the ſeveral branches thereof, ſeveral lowly

Ex. xix. 8. and xxiv. 3. Deut. v. 27. and xxvi. 17. Joſh. xxiv. 16.

[a] For the ſinging of pſalms by courſe, and ſide after ſide, although it be very ancient, yet it is not commendable; and ſo much the more to be ſuſpected, for that the Devil hath gone about to get it ſo great authority, partly by deriving it from Ignatius's time, and partly in making the world believe that this came [illegible] heaven, and that the Angels were heard to ſing after this ſort: which as it is a mere fable, ſo it is confuted by Hiſtoriographers, whereof ſome aſcribe the beginning of this to Damaſus, ſome other unto Flavianus and Diodorus. T. C. l. i. p. 203.

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lowly and humble requeſts for grace at the merciful hands of God, to perform the thing which is commanded; or when they wiſh reciprocally each other's ghoſtly happineſs; or when he by exhortation raiſeth them up, and they by proteſtation of their readineſs declare he ſpeaketh not in vain unto them. Theſe interlocutory forms of ſpeech what are they elſe, but moſt effectual, partly teſtifications and partly inflammations of all piety? When and how this cuſtom of ſinging by courſe came up in the Church, it is not certainly known. Socrates maketh Ignatius, the Biſhop of Antioch, in Syria, the firſt beginner thereof, even under the Apoſtles themſelves. But againſt Socrates they ſet the authority of Theodoret, who draweth the original of it from Antioch, as Socrates doth; howbeit aſcribing the invention to others, Flavian and Diodore, men which conſtantly ſtood in defence of the Apoſtolic Faith againſt the Biſhop of the Church, Leontius, a favourer of the Arians. Againſt both Socrates and Theodoret, Platina is brought as a witneſs to teſtify that Damaſus, Biſhop of Rome, began it in his time. Of the Latin Church, it may be true which Platina ſaith. And therefore, the eldeſt of that Church which maketh any mention thereof is St. Ambroſe[a], Biſhop of Milan, at the ſame time when Damaſus was of Rome. Amongſt the Grecians, St. Baſil having brought it into his Church before they of Neocæſarea uſed it, Sabellius the Heretic, and Marcellus, took occaſion thereat to incenſe the Churches againſt him, as being the author of new devices in the ſervice of God. Whereupon, to avoid the opinion of novelty and ſingularity, he

Socrat. Hiſt. Eccl. lib. vi. c. 8.

Theod. lib. ii. cap. 24.

Plat. in vita Damaſi.

Baſil. Epiſt. 36.

[a] Bene mari plerumque comparatur Eccleſia, quæ primo ingredientis populi agmine totis veſtibulis undas vomit; deinde in oratione totius plebis tanquam undis reſluentibus ſtridet; tum reſponſoriis Pſalmorum, cantu virorum, mulierum, virginum, parvulorum, conſonus undarum fragor reſultat. Hexam. lib. iii. cap. 5.

allegeth

allegeth for that which he himſelf did the example of the Churches of Egypt, Libya, Thebes, Paleſtina, the Arabians, Phœnicians, Syrians, Meſopotamians, and, in a manner, all that reverenced the cuſtom of ſinging pſalms together. If the Syrians had it then before Baſil, Antioch, the mother Church of thoſe parts, muſt needs have uſed it before Baſil, and conſequently before Damaſus. The queſtion is then, how long before, and whether ſo long, that Ignatius, or as ancient as Ignatius, may be probably thought the firſt inventors. Ignatius in Trajan's days ſuffered martyrdom. And of the Churches in Pontus and Bithynia, to Trajan the Emperor, his own vicegerent there affirmeth, that the only crime he knew of them was, they uſed to meet together at a certain day, and to praiſe Chriſt with hymns as a God, *ſecum invicem*, one to another amongſt themſelves. Which, for any thing we know to the contrary, might be the ſelf-ſame form which Philo Judæus expreſſeth, declaring how the Eſſenes were accuſtomed with hymns and pſalms to honour God, ſometime all exalting their voices together in one, and ſometime one part anſwering another, wherein, as he thought, they ſwerved not much from the pattern of Moſes and Miriam. Whether Ignatius did at any time hear the Angels praiſing God after that ſort or no, what matter is it? If Ignatius did not, yet one which muſt be with us of great authority did. *I ſaw the Lord* (ſaith the prophet Iſaiah) *on an high throne; the Seraphim ſtood upon it; one cried to another, ſaying, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Hoſts, the whole world is full of his glory.* But whoſoever were the author, whatſoever the time, whenſoever the example of beginning this cuſtom in the Church of Chriſt; ſith we are wont to ſuſpect things only before trial, and afterwards either to approve them as good, or if we find them evil, accordingly to judge of them; their counſel muſt need ſeem very unſeaſonable, who adviſe men now to ſuſpect that wherewith the world

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Plin. Secund. Epiſt. lib. x. p. 97.

Exod. xv. 1, 21.

Iſa. vi. 1—3.

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hath had, by their own account, twelve hundred years' acquaintance and upwards, enough to take away ſuſpicion and jealouſy. Men know by this time, if ever they will know, whether it be good or evil which hath been ſo long retained. As for the Devil, which way it ſhould greatly benefit him to have this manner of ſinging pſalms accounted an invention of Ignatius, or an imitation of the Angels of heaven, we do not well underſtand. But we very well ſee, in them who thus plead, a wonderful celerity of diſcourſe. For perceiving, at the firſt, but only ſome cauſe of ſuſpicion and fear leſt it ſhould be evil, they are preſently in one and the ſelf-ſame breath reſolved, [a] that *what beginning ſoever it had, there is no poſſibility it ſhould be good.* The potent arguments which did thus ſuddenly break in upon them, and overcome them, are; firſt, that it is not unlawful for the people all jointly to praiſe God in ſinging of pſalms. Secondly, that they are not any where forbidden by the Law of God, to ſing every verſe of the whole pſalm, both with heart and voice, quite and clean throughout. Thirdly, that it cannot be underſtood what is ſung after our manner. Of which three, foraſmuch as lawfulneſs to ſing one way, proveth not another way inconvenient, the former two are true allegations, but they lack ſtrength to accompliſh their deſire; the third ſo ſtrong, that it

[a] From whenceſoever it came it cannot be good, conſidering, that when it is granted, that all the people may praiſe God, (as it is in ſinging of pſalms,) then this ought not to be reſtrained unto a few; and where it is lawful, both with heart and voice, to ſing the whole pſalm, there it is not meet that they ſhould ſing but the one half with their heart and voice, and the other with their heart only. For where they may both with heart and voice ſing, there the heart is not enough. Therefore beſides the incommodity which cometh this way, in that being toſſed after this ſort, men cannot underſtand what is ſung, thoſe other two inconveniences come of this form of ſinging, and therefore it is baniſhed in all reformed Churches. T. C. l. i. p. 203.

might

might perſuade, if the truth thereof were not doubtful. And ſhall this enforce us to baniſh a thing which all Chriſtian Churches in the world have received; a thing which ſo many ages have held; a thing which the moſt approved Councils and Laws have ſo oftentimes ratified; a thing which was never found to have any inconvenience in it; a thing which always heretofore the beſt men and wiſeſt governors of God's people did think they could never commend enough; a thing which, as Baſil was perſuaded, did both ſtrengthen the meditation of thoſe holy words which were uttered in that ſort, and ſerve alſo to make attentive, and to raiſe up the hearts of men; a thing whereunto God's people of old did reſort with hope and thirſt, that thereby eſpecially their ſouls might be edified; a thing which filleth the mind with comfort and heavenly delight, ſtirreth up flagrant deſires and affections correſpondent unto that which the words contain; allayeth all kind of baſe and earthly cogitations, baniſheth and driveth away thoſe evil ſecret ſuggeſtions which our inviſible enemy is always apt to miniſter, watereth the heart to the end it may fructify, maketh the virtuous in trouble full of magnanimity and courage, ſerveth as a moſt approved remedy againſt all doleful and heavy accidents which befall men in this preſent life; to conclude, ſo fitly accordeth with the Apoſtle's own exhortation, *Speak to yourſelves in pſalms and hymns, and ſpiritual ſongs, making melody, and ſinging to the Lord in your hearts*; that ſurely there is more cauſe to fear leſt the want thereof be a maim, than the uſe a blemiſh to the ſervice of God. It is not our meaning, that what we attribute unto the pſalms, ſhould be thought to depend altogether on that only form of ſinging or reading them by courſe, as with us the manner is; but the end of our ſpeech is to ſhew, that becauſe the Fathers of the Church, with whom the ſelf-ſame cuſtom was ſo many ages ago in uſe, have uttered all theſe

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Eph. v. 19.

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theſe things concerning the fruit which the Church of God did then reap, obſerving that and no other form, it may be juſtly avouched, that we ourſelves retaining it, and beſides it alſo the other more newly and not unfruitfully deviſed, do neither want that good which the latter invention can afford, nor loſe any thing of that for which the ancients ſo oft and ſo highly commend the former. Let novelty therefore in this give over endleſs contradictions, and let ancient cuſtom prevail.

Of Magnificat, Benedictus, and Nunc dimittis.

40. We have already given cauſe ſufficient for the great conveniency and uſe of reading the pſalms oftener than other Scriptures. Of reading or ſinging likewiſe *Magnificat*, *Benedictus*, and *Nunc dimittis*, oftener than the reſt of the pſalms, the cauſes are no whit leſs reaſonable; ſo that if the one may very well monthly, the other may as well even daily be iterated. They are ſongs which concern us ſo much more than the ſongs of David, as the Goſpel toucheth us more than the Law, the New Teſtament than the Old. And if the pſalms for the excellency of their uſe deſerve to be oftener repeated than they are, but that the multitude of them permitteth not any oftener repetition, what diſorder is it, if theſe few Evangelical hymns, which are in no reſpect leſs worthy, and may be by reaſon of their paucity imprinted with much more eaſe in all men's memories, be for that cauſe every day rehearſed? In our own behalf it is convenient and orderly enough, that both they and we make day by day prayers and ſupplications the very ſame; why not as fit and convenient to magnify the name of God day by day with certain, the very ſelf-ſame pſalms of praiſe and thankſgiving? Either let them not allow the one, or elſe ceaſe to reprove the other. For the ancient received uſe of intermingling hymns and pſalms with divine readings, enough hath been written. And if any may fitly ſerve unto that purpoſe, how ſhould it better have been deviſed, than that a compet[illegible] number

number of the old being firſt read, theſe of the new ſhould ſucceed in the place where now they are ſet? In which place notwithſtanding, there is joined with *Benedictus* the hundredth pſalm; with *Magnificat* the ninety-eighth; the ſixty-ſeventh with *Nunc dimittis*; and in every of them the choice left free for the miniſter to uſe indifferently the one for the other. Seeing therefore they pretend no quarrel at other pſalms, which are in like manner appointed alſo to be daily read, why do theſe ſo much offend and diſpleaſe their taſte? They are the firſt gratulations wherewith our Lord and Saviour was joyfully received at his entrance into the world, by ſuch as in their hearts, arms, and very bowels embraced him; being prophetical diſcoveries of Chriſt already preſent, whoſe future coming the other pſalms did but fore-ſignify; they are, againſt the obſtinate incredulity of the Jews, the moſt luculent teſtimonies that the Chriſtian Religion hath; yea, the only ſacred hymns they are that Chriſtianity hath peculiar unto itſelf, the other being ſongs too of praiſe and thankſgiving, but ſongs wherewith as we ſerve God, ſo the Jew likewiſe. And whereas they tell us, theſe ſongs were fit for that purpoſe when Simeon and Zachary and the bleſſed Virgin uttered them, but cannot ſo be to us which have not received like benefit; [a] ſhould they not remember how expreſsly Hezekiah, amongſt many other good things, is commended for this alſo, that the praiſes of God were through his appointment daily ſet forth, by uſing in public divine ſervice the ſongs of David and Aſaph unto that very end? Either there wanted wiſe men to give Hezekiah advice, and to inform him of that which in his caſe was as true as it is in

2 Chron. xxix. 30.

[a] Theſe thankſgivings were made by occaſion of certain particular benefits, and are no more to be uſed for ordinary prayers, than the *Ave Maria*. So that both for this cauſe, and the other before alleged of the Pſalms, it is not convenient to make ordinary prayers of them. T. C. lib. iii. p. 208.

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ours, namely, that without ſome inconvenience and diſorder he could not appoint thoſe pſalms to be uſed as ordinary prayers, ſeeing that although they were ſongs of thankſgiving, ſuch as David and Aſaph had ſpecial occaſion to uſe, yet not ſo the whole Church and people afterwards whom like occaſions did not befall; or elſe Hezekiah was perſuaded as we are, that the praiſes of God in the mouths of his ſaints are not ſo reſtrained to their own particular, but that others may both conveniently and fruitfully uſe them; firſt, becauſe the myſtical communion of all faithful men is ſuch as maketh every one to be intereſted in thoſe precious bleſſings which any one of them receiveth at God's hands; ſecondly, becauſe when any thing is ſpoken to extol the goodneſs of God, whoſe *mercy endureth for ever*, albeit the very particular occaſion whereupon it riſeth do come no more, yet, the fountain continuing the ſame, and yielding other new effects which are but only in ſome ſort proportionable, a ſmall reſemblance between the benefits which we and others have received may ſerve to make the ſame words of praiſe and thankſgiving fit, though not equally in all circumſtances fit for both; a clear demonſtration whereof we have in all the ancient Fathers' commentaries and meditations upon the Pſalms. Laſt of all, becauſe even when there is not as much as the ſhew of any reſemblance, nevertheleſs by often uſing their words in ſuch manner, our minds are daily more and more inured with their affections.

Of the Litany.

41. The public eſtate of the Church of God amongſt the Jews hath had many rare and extraordinary occurrences; which alſo were occaſions of ſundry [a] open ſolemnities and offices, whereby the

[a] We pray for the avoiding of thoſe dangers which [illegible] thing near us; as from lightning and thundering in the [illegible] winter; from ſtorms and tempeſt, when the weather is [illegible] and the ſeas moſt calm. It is true, that upon ſome urg[illegible]

people did with general conſent make ſhew of correſpondent affection towards God. The like duties appear uſual in the ancient Church of Chriſt, by that which Tertullian ſpeaketh of Chriſtian women themſelves matching with Infidels. *She cannot content the Lord with performance of his diſcipline, that hath at her ſide a vaſſal whom Satan hath made his vice-agent to croſs whatſoever the faithful ſhould do. If her preſence be required at the time of ſtation, or ſtanding prayer, he chargeth her at no time but that to be with him in his baths; if a faſting-day come, he hath on that day a banquet to make; if there be cauſe for the Church to go forth in ſolemn proceſſion, his whole family have ſuch buſineſs come upon them that no one can be ſpared.* Theſe proceſſions, as it ſeemeth, were firſt begun for the interring of holy martyrs, and the viſiting of thoſe places where they were entombed. Which

Tertul. lib. ii. ad Uxor. p. 168. D. ed. Par.

mity a prayer may, and ought to be framed, which may beg either the commodity for want whereof the Church is in diſtreſs, or the turning away of that miſchief which either approacheth, or is already upon it. But to make thoſe prayers, which are for the preſent time and danger, ordinary and daily prayers, I cannot hitherto ſee any, either Scripture, or example of the primitive Church. And here, for the ſimple's ſake, I will ſet down after what ſort this abuſe crept into the Church. There was one Mamercus, Biſhop of Vienna, which, in the time of great earthquakes which were in France, inſtituted certain ſupplications, which the Grecians (and we of them) call the Litany, which concerned that matter: there is no doubt but as other diſcommodities roſe in other countries, they likewiſe had prayers accordingly. Now Pope Gregory either made himſelf, or gathered the ſupplications that were made againſt the calamities of every country, and made of them a great Litany or Supplication, as Platina calleth it, and gave it to be uſed in all Churches: which thing albeit all Churches might do for the time, in reſpect of the caſe of the calamity which the Churches ſuffered; yet there is no cauſe why it ſhould be perpetual that was ordained but for a time; and why all lands ſhould pray to be delivered from the incommodities that ſome land hath been troubled with. T. C. lib. i. pag. 137. Exod. xv. 20. Wiſd. x. 20. 2 Sam. vi. 2. 1 Chron. xiii. 5. 2 Chron. xx. 3. Joel ii. 15.

thing

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thing the name itſelf applied by Heathens unto the office of Exequies, and partly the ſpeeches of ſome of the ancients delivered concerning [a] Chriſtian proceſſions, partly alſo the very droſs which ſuperſtition thereunto added, I mean, the cuſtom of invocating ſaints in proceſſion, heretofore uſual, do ſtrongly inſinuate. And as things invented to one purpoſe are by uſe eaſily converted to more, it grew, that ſupplications, with this ſolemnity for the appeaſing of God's wrath and the averting of public evils, were of the Greek Church termed Litanies, Rogations of the Latin. To the people of Vienna (Mamercus being their Biſhop above four hundred and fifty years after Chriſt) there befel many things, the ſuddenneſs and ſtrangeneſs whereof ſo amazed the hearts of all men, that the city they began to forſake as a place which Heaven did threaten with imminent ruin. It beſeemeth not the perſon of ſo grave a Prelate to be either utterly without counſel, as the reſt were, or in a common perplexity to ſhew himſelf alone ſecure. Wherefore as many as remained he earneſtly exhorteth to prevent portended calamities, uſing thoſe virtuous and holy means wherewith others in like caſe have prevailed with God. To which purpoſe he perfecteth the Rogations or Litanies before in uſe, and addeth unto them that which the preſent neceſſity required. Their good ſucceſs moved Sidonius, Biſhop of Averna, to uſe the ſame ſo corrected Rogations at ſuch time as he and his people were after afflicted with famine and beſieged with potent adverſaries. For till the empty name of the empire came to be ſettled in Charles the Great, the fall of the Romans' huge dominion, concurring with other univerſal evils, cauſed thoſe times to be days of much affliction and trouble

Terent. Andr.

Socrat. lib. vi. c. 8. Sozom. lib. viii. c. 8. Theod. lib. xvi. l. xxx. L. iii. c. 10. Novel. lxviii. 51. Baſil. Epiſt. lxiii. Niceph. lib. xiv. c. 3. Cedren. in Theodoſ.

Sidon. lib. vii. Epiſt. 1.

[a] Hier. Epiſt. xxii. ad Euſt. Martyres tibi quærantur in cubiculo tuo. Nunquam cauſa deerit procedendi, ſi ſemper quando neceſſe eſt, progreſſura ſis.

throughout

throughout the world; ſo that Rogations or Litanies were then the very ſtrength, ſtay, and comfort of God's Church. Whereupon in the year five hundred and ſix, it was by the Council of Aurelia decreed, that the whole Church ſhould beſtow yearly at the feaſt of Pentecoſt three days in that kind of proceſſionary ſervice. About half an hundred years after, to the end that the Latin Churches, which all obſerved this cuſtom, might not vary in the order and form of thoſe great Litanies which were ſo ſolemnly every where exerciſed, it was thought convenient by Gregory the Firſt, and the beſt of that name, to draw the flower of them all into one. But this iron began at length to gather ruſt, which thing the Synod of Colen ſaw, and in part redreſſed within that province; neither denying the neceſſary uſe for which ſuch Litanies ſerve, wherein God's clemency and mercy is deſired by public ſuit, to the end that plagues, deſtructions, calamities, famines, wars, and all other the like adverſities, which for our manifold ſins we have always cauſe to fear, may be turned away from us and prevented through his grace; nor yet diſſembling the great abuſe whereunto as ſundry other things, ſo this had grown by men's improbity and malice; to whom, that which was deviſed for the appeaſing of God's diſpleaſure, gave opportunity of committing things which juſtly kindled his wrath. For remedy whereof it was then thought better, that theſe and all other ſupplications and proceſſions ſhould be no where uſed, but only within the walls of the Houſe of God, and place ſanctified unto Prayer. And by us not only ſuch inconveniences being remedied, but alſo whatſoever was otherwiſe amiſs in form or matter, it now remaineth a work, the abſolute perfection whereof upbraideth with error or ſomewhat worſe them whom in all parts it doth not ſatisfy. As therefore Litanies have been of longer continuance than that we ſhould make either Gregory or Mamercus the author of them; ſo they

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Concil. tom. ii. p. 513.

Concil. tom. v. Anno 1536.

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they are of more permanent uſe than that now the Church ſhould think it needeth them not. What dangers at any time are imminent, what evils hang over our heads, God doth know, and not we. We find by daily experience that thoſe calamities may be neareſt at hand, readieſt to break in ſuddenly upon us, which we in regard of times or circumſtances may imagine to be fartheſt off. Or if they do not indeed approach, yet ſuch miſeries as being preſent, all men are apt to bewail with tears, the wiſe by their prayers ſhould rather prevent. Finally, if we for ourſelves had a privilege of immunity, doth not true Chriſtian charity require, that whatſoever any part of the world, yea any one of all our brethren elſewhere, doth either ſuffer or fear, the ſame we account as our own burden? What one petition is there found in the whole Litany, whereof we ſhall ever be able at any time to ſay that no man living needeth the grace or benefit therein craved at God's hands? I am not able to expreſs how much it doth grieve me, that things of principal excellency ſhould be thus bitten at by men whom God hath endued with graces, both of wit and learning, for better purpoſes.

Of Athanaſius' Creed, and Gloria Patri.

42. We have from the Apoſtles of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt received that brief Confeſſion of Faith which hath been always a badge of the Church, a mark whereby to diſcern Chriſtian men from Infidels and Jews: *This Faith, received from the Apoſtles and their Diſciples*, (ſaith Irenæus,) *the Church, though diſperſed throughout the world, doth notwithſtanding keep as ſafe, as if it dwelt within the walls of ſome one houſe, and as uniformly hold, as if it had but one only heart and ſoul; this as conſonantly it preacheth, teacheth, and delivereth, as if but one tongue did ſpeak for all. As one ſun ſhineth to the whole world; ſo there is no faith but this one publiſhed, the brightneſs whereof muſt enlighten all that come to the knowledge of the truth. This rule* (ſaith Tertullian) *Chriſt did inſtitute; the ſtream and current of this rule hath gone as far, it hath continued as long as*

Iren. lib. ii. cap. 3.

Tertul. de Præſcr. adverſ. Hæret. p. 205. ed. Par. & adverſ. Prax.

the very promulgation of the Goſpel. [a] Under Conſtantine the Emperor, about three hundred years and upward after Chriſt, Arius, a prieſt in the Church of Alexandria, a ſubtle-witted and a marvellous fair-ſpoken man, but diſcontented that one ſhould be placed before him in honour, whoſe ſuperior he thought himſelf in deſert, became through envy and ſtomach prone unto contradiction, and bold to broach at the length that hereſy wherein the deity of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, contained but not opened in the former Creed, the co-equality and co-eternity of the Son with the Father, was denied. Being for this impiety deprived of his place by the Biſhop of the ſame Church, the puniſhment which ſhould have reformed him did but increaſe his obſtinacy, and give him occaſion of labouring with greater earneſtneſs elſewhere to entangle unwary minds with the ſnares of his damnable opinion. Arius in ſhort time had won to himſelf a number both of followers and of great defenders, whereupon much diſquietneſs on all ſides enſued. The Emperor, to reduce the Church of Chriſt unto the unity of ſound belief, when other means, whereof trial was firſt made, took no effect, gathered that famous aſſembly of three hundred and eighteen Biſhops in the Council of Nice; where, beſides order taken for many things which ſeemed to need redreſs, there was with common conſent, for the ſettling of all men's minds, that other Confeſſion of Faith ſet down, which we call the Nicene Creed, whereunto the Arians themſelves which were preſent ſubſcribed alſo; BOOK V.

[a] The like may be ſaid of the Gloria Patri, and the Athanaſian Creed. It was firſt brought into the Church, to the end that men thereby ſhould make an open profeſſion in the Church of the divinity of the Son of God againſt the deteſtable opinion of Arius and his diſciples, wherewith at that time marvellouſly ſwarmed almoſt the whole Chriſtendom. Now that it hath pleaſed the Lord to quench that fire, there is no ſuch cauſe why theſe things ſhould be uſed in the Church, at the leaſt, why that Gloria Patri ſhould be ſo often repeated. T. C. lib. i. p. 137.

not

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not that they meant ſincerely and indeed to forſake their error, but only to eſcape deprivation and exile, which they ſaw they could not avoid, openly perſiſting in their former opinions when the greater part had concluded againſt them, and that with the Emperor's royal aſſent. Reſerving therefore themſelves unto future opportunities, and knowing it would not boot them to ſtir again in a matter ſo compoſed, unleſs they ſhould draw the Emperor firſt, and by his means the chiefeſt Biſhops unto their part, till Conſtantine's death and ſomewhat after, they always profeſſed love and zeal to the Nicene Faith, yet ceaſed not in the mean while to ſtrengthen that part which in heart they favoured, and to infeſt by all means, under colour of other quarrels, their greateſt adverſaries in this cauſe. Amongſt them Athanaſius eſpecially, whom by the ſpace of forty-ſix years, from the time of his conſecration to ſucceed Alexander, Archbiſhop in the Church of Alexandria, till the laſt hour of his life in this world, they never ſuffered to enjoy the comfort of a peaceable day: the heart of Conſtantine ſtolen from him: Conſtantius, Conſtantine's ſucceſſor, his ſcourge and torment by all the ways that malice armed with ſovereign authority could deviſe and uſe: under Julian no reſt given him; and in the days of Valentinian, as little: crimes there were laid to his charge many; the leaſt whereof, being juſt, had bereaved him of eſtimation and credit with men, while the world ſtandeth: his judges evermore the ſelf-ſame men, by whom his accuſers were ſuborned; yet the iſſue always on their part ſhame, on his triumph. Thoſe Biſhops and Prelates, who ſhould have accounted his cauſe theirs, and could not many of them, but with bleeding hearts and with watered cheeks, behold a perſon of ſo great place and worth conſtrained to endure ſo foul indignities, were ſure, by bewraying their affection towards him, to bring upon themſelves thoſe moleſtations, whereby if they would not be drawn to ſeem his adverſaries, yet

ſhould be taught how unſafe it was to continue his friends. Whereupon it came to paſs in the end, that (very few excepted) all became ſubject to the ſway of time; other odds there was none amongſt them, ſaving only that ſome fell ſooner away, ſome later, from the ſoundneſs of belief; ſome were leaders in the hoſt of impiety, and the reſt as common ſoldiers, either yielding through fear, or brought under with penury, or by flattery enſnared, or elſe beguiled through ſimplicity, which is the faireſt excuſe that well may be made for them. Yea, (that which all men did wonder at,) Oſius, the ancienteſt Biſhop that Chriſtendom then had, the moſt forward in defence of the Catholic cauſe, and of the contrary part moſt feared; that very Oſius, with whoſe hand the Nicene Creed itſelf was ſet down, and framed for the whole Chriſtian world to ſubſcribe unto, ſo far yielded in the end, as even with the ſame hand to ratify the Arians' Confeſſion, a thing which they neither hoped to ſee, nor the other part ever feared, till with amazement they ſaw it done. Both were perſuaded, that although there had been for Oſius no way but either preſently ſubſcribe or die, his anſwer and choice would have been the ſame that Eleazar's was, *It doth not become our age to diſſemble, whereby many young perſons might think that Oſius an hundred years old and upward were now gone to another Religion; and ſo through mine hypocriſy (for a little time of tranſitory life) they might be deceived by me, and I procure malediction and reproach to my old age. For though I were now delivered from the torments of men, yet could I not eſcape the hand of the Almighty, neither alive nor dead.* But ſuch was the ſtream of thoſe times, that all men gave place unto it, which we cannot but impute partly to their own overſight; for at the firſt the Emperor was theirs, the determination of the Council of Nice was for them; they had the Arians' hands to that Council. So great advantages are never changed ſo far to the contrary, but by great error. It plainly appeareth,

2 Mac. vi. 24, 25, 26.

Major Centenario. Sulpit. Sever. Hiſt. l. ii.

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eth, that the firſt thing which weakened them was their ſecurity. Such as they knew were in heart ſtill affected towards Arianiſm, they ſuffered by continual nearneſs to poſſeſs the minds of the greateſt about the Emperor, which themſelves might have done with very good acceptation, and neglected it. In Conſtantine's life-time to have ſettled Conſtantius the ſame way, had been a duty of good ſervice towards God, a mean of peace, and great quietneſs to the Church of Chriſt; a labour eaſy, and how likely we may conjecture, when after that ſo much pains was taken to inſtruct and ſtrengthen him in the contrary courſe, after that ſo much was done by himſelf to the furtherance of hereſy, yet being touched in the end voluntarily with remorſe, nothing more grieved him than the memory of former proceedings in the cauſe of Religion; and that which he now foreſaw in Julian, the next phyſician, into whoſe hands the body that was thus diſtempered muſt fall. Howbeit this we may ſomewhat excuſe, in as much as every man's particular care to his own charge was ſuch, as gave them no leiſure to heed what others practiſed in Princes' courts. But of the two Synods of Arimine and Seleucia, what ſhould we think? Conſtantius, by the Arians' ſuggeſtion, had deviſed to aſſemble all the Biſhops of the whole world about this controverſy; but in two ſeveral places, the Biſhops of the Weſt at Arimine in Italy, the Eaſtern at Selucia the ſame time. Amongſt them of the Eaſt there was no ſtop, they agreed without any great ado, gave their ſentence againſt hereſy, excommunicated ſome chief maintainers thereof, and ſent the Emperor word what was done. They had at Arimine about four hundred which held the truth; ſcarce of the adverſe part fourſcore, but theſe obſtinate, and the other weary of contending with them: whereupon by both it was reſolved to ſend to the Emperor ſuch as might inform him of the cauſe, and declare what hindered their peaceable agreement. There are cheſon for

the Catholic ſide, [a] ſuch men as had in them nothing to be noted but boldneſs, neither gravity, nor learning, nor wiſdom. The Arians, for the credit of their faction, take the eldeſt, the beſt experienced, the moſt wary, and the longeſt practiſed veterans they had amongſt them. The Emperor, conjecturing of the reſt on either part, by the quality of them whom he ſaw, ſent them ſpeedily away, and with them a certain Confeſſion of Faith, [b] ambiguouſly and ſubtilly drawn by the Arians, whereunto unleſs they all ſubſcribed they ſhould in no caſe be ſuffered to depart from the place where they were. At length it was perceived, that there had not been in the Catholics, either at Arimine, or at Seleucia, ſo much foreſight as to provide that true intelligence might paſs between them what was done. Upon the advantage of which error, their adverſaries abuſing each with perſuaſion that other had yielded, ſurpriſed both. The Emperor the more deſirous and glad of ſuch events, for that, beſides all other things wherein they hindered themſelves, the gall and bitterneſs of certain men's writings, who ſpared him little for honour's ſake, made him for their ſakes the leſs inclinable to that truth which he himſelf ſhould have honoured and loved. Only in Athanaſius there was nothing obſerved throughout the courſe of that long tragedy, other than ſuch as very well became a wiſe man to do, and a righteous to ſuffer. So that this was the plain condition of thoſe times; the whole world againſt Athanaſius, and Athanaſius againſt it; half an hundred of years ſpent in doubtful trial which of the two in the end would prevail,

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[a] Ex parte noſtra leguntur homines adoleſcentes, parum docti, parum cauti. Ab Arianis autem miſſi ſenes, callidi et ingenio valentes veterano, perfidia imbuti, qui apud Regem facile ſuperiores extiterunt. Sulpit. lib. ii.

[b] Eiſdemque conſcriptam ab improbis fidem tradit verbis fallentibus involutam, quæ Catholicam diſciplinam perfidia latente loqueretur. Ibid.

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the ſide which had all, or elſe the part which had no friend but God and death; the one a defender of his innocency, the other a finiſher of all his troubles. Now although theſe contentions were cauſe of much evil, yet ſome good the Church hath reaped by them, in that they occaſioned the learned and ſound in Faith to explain ſuch things as hereſy went about to deprave. And in this reſpect, the Creed of Athanaſius, firſt exhibited unto Julius, Biſhop of Rome, and afterwards (as we may probably gather) ſent to the Emperor Jovinian for his more full information concerning that truth which Arianiſm ſo mightily did impugn, was both in the Eaſt and the Weſt Churches accepted as a treaſure of ineſtimable price, [a] by as many as had not given up even the very ghoſt of belief. Then was the Creed of Athanaſius written, howbeit not then ſo expedient to be publickly uſed as now in the Church of God; becauſe while the heat of diviſion laſteth, truth itſelf enduring oppoſition doth not ſo quietly and currently paſs throughout all men's hands, neither can be of that account which afterwards it hath when the world once perceiveth the virtue thereof, not only in itſelf, but alſo by the conqueſt which God hath given it over hereſy. That which hereſy did by ſiniſter interpretations go about to pervert in the firſt and moſt ancient Apoſtolical Creed, the ſame being by ſingular dexterity and plainneſs cleared from thoſe heretical corruptions, partly by this Creed of Athanaſius, written about the year three hundred and forty, and partly by that other ſet down in the Synod of Conſtantinople forty years after, comprehending together with the Nicene Creed an addition of other articles which the Nicene Creed omitted, becauſe the controverſy then in hand needed no mention to be made of them; theſe

That Creed which in the book of Common Prayer followeth immediately after the reading of the Goſpel.

[a] Ταύτην μοι δοκοῦσιν αἱδέμενοι τὴν ὁμολογίαν εἴτε τῆς ἱσπερίας ἢ τῆς ἑῴας ὅσαι βιώσιμον. Greg. Nazian. de Atha.

Catholic

Catholic declarations of our belief delivered by them, which were ſo much nearer than we are unto the firſt publication thereof, and continuing needful for all men at all times to know, theſe confeſſions, as teſtimonies of our continuance in the ſame Faith to this preſent day, we rather uſe than any other gloſs or paraphraſe deviſed by ourſelves, which though it were to the ſame effect, notwithſtanding could not be of the like authority and credit. For that of Hilary unto St. Auguſtine hath been ever, and is likely to be always true; *Your moſt religious wiſdom knoweth how great their number is in the Church of God, whom the very authority of men's names doth keep in that opinion which they hold already, or draw unto that which they have not before held.* Touching the Hymn of Glory, our uſual concluſion to pſalms, the glory of all things is that wherein their higheſt perfection doth conſiſt; and the glory of God, that divine excellency, whereby he is eminent above all things, his omnipotent, infinite, and eternal Being, which angels and glorified ſaints do intuitively behold; which we on earth apprehend principally by Faith, in part alſo by that kind of knowledge which groweth from experience of thoſe effects, the greatneſs whereof exceedeth the powers and abilities of all creatures both in heaven and earth. God is glorified. when ſuch his excellency above all things is with due admiration acknowledged. Which dutiful acknowledgment of God's excellency by occaſion of ſpecial effects, being the very proper ſubject, and almoſt the only matter purpoſely treated of in all pſalms, if that joyful Hymn of Glory have any uſe in the Church of God, whoſe name we therewith extol and magnify, can we place it more fitly than where now it ſerveth as a cloſe or concluſion to pſalms? Neither is the form thereof newly or unneceſſarily invented. *We muſt* (ſaith St. Baſil) *as we have received, even ſo baptize; and as we baptize, even ſo believe; and as we believe, even ſo give glory.*

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Hilar. Arela. Epiſt. ad Aug.

1 Cor. xv. 40. Exod. xxxiii. 18. Heb. i. 3. Matt. xviii. 10.

Joſh. vii. 19. Pſal. xxii. 23.

Baſil. Epiſt. lxxviii. p. 139. tom. iii. ed. Par.

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Baptizing, we uſe the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt; confeſſing the Chriſtian Faith, we declare our belief in the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Ghoſt; aſcribing glory unto God, we give it to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghoſt. It is ἀπόδειξις τῆ ὀρθῆ φρονήματος, *the token of a true and ſound underſtanding* for matter of doctrine about the Trinity, when in miniſtering baptiſm, and making confeſſion, and giving glory, there is a conjunction of all three, and no one of the three ſevered from the other two. Againſt the Arians, affirming the Father to be greater than the Son in honour, excellency, dignity, majeſty, this form and manner of glorifying God was not at that time firſt begun, but received long before, and alleged at that time as an argument for the truth. *If* (ſaith Fœbadius) *there be that inequality which they affirm, then do we every day blaſpheme God, when, in thankſgivings and offerings of ſacrifice, we acknowledge thoſe things common to the Father and the Son.* The Arians therefore, for that they perceived how this did prejudice their cauſe, altered the Hymn of Glory; whereupon enſued in the Church of Antioch, about the year three hundred forty-nine, that jar which Theodoret and Sozomen mention. *In their quires, while they praiſed God together, as the manner was, at the end of the pſalms which they ſung, it appeared what opinion every man held; for as much as they glorified ſome the Father,* and *the Son,* and *the Holy Ghoſt; ſome the Father* by *the Son,* in *the Spirit; the one ſort thereby declaring themſelves to embrace the Son's equality with the Father, as the Council of Nice had defined; the other ſort, againſt the Council of Nice, his inequality.* Leontius their Biſhop, although an enemy to the better part, yet wary and ſubtile, as in a manner all the heads of the Arians' faction are, could at no time be heard to uſe either form, perhaps leſt his open contradiction of them whom he favoured not might make them

Fœbad. lib. contra Arian.

Theod. lib. ii. cap. 24. Sozom. lib. iv. cap. 19.

them the more eager, and by that mean the leſs apt to be privately won; or peradventure for that, though he joined in opinion with that ſort of Arians who denied the Son to be equal with the Father; yet from them he diſſented, which thought the Father and Son not only unequal, but unlike, as Aetius did upon a frivolous and falſe ſurmiſe, that becauſe the Apoſtle hath ſaid, *One God of whom, one Lord by whom, one Spirit in whom*, his different manner of ſpeech doth argue a different nature and being in them of whom he ſpeaketh. Out of which blind collection it ſeemeth that this their new deviſed form did firſt ſpring. But in truth, even that very form which the Arians did then uſe (ſaving that they choſe it to ſerve as their ſpecial mark of recognizance, and gave it ſecretly within themſelves a ſiniſter conſtruction) hath not otherwiſe as much as the ſhew of any thing which ſoundeth towards impiety. For albeit, if we reſpect God's glory within itſelf, it be the equal right and poſſeſſion of all three, and that without any odds, any difference; yet, touching his manifeſtation thereof unto us by continual effects, and our perpetual acknowledgment thereof unto him likewiſe by virtuous offices, doth not every tongue both ways confeſs, that the brightneſs of his glory hath ſpread itſelf throughout the world *by* the miniſtry of his only begotten Son, and is *in* the manifold graces of the Spirit every way marvellous? Again, that whatſoever we do to his glory, it is done *in* the power of the Holy Ghoſt, and made acceptable *by* the merit and mediation of Jeſus Chriſt? So that glory to the Father, *and* the Son, or glory to the Father *by* the Son, ſaving only where evil minds do abuſe and pervert holy things, are not elſe the voices of error and ſchiſm, but of ſound and ſincere Religion. It hath been the cuſtom of the Church of Chriſt to end ſometimes prayers, and ſermons always, with words of glory; wherein, as long as the bleſſed

1 Cor. viii. 6. 1 Cor. xii. 3, 4, 13.

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nity a matter needleſs to be ſo oftentimes mentioned and opened in the principal part of that duty which we owe to God, our public Prayer? Hath the Church of Chriſt from the firſt beginning, by a ſecret univerſal inſtinct of God's good Spirit, always tied itſelf to end neither ſermon, nor almoſt any ſpeech of moment which hath concerned matters of God, without ſome ſpecial words of honour and glory to that Trinity which we all adore; and is the like concluſion of pſalms become now at length an eye-ſore, or a galling to their ears that hear it? Thoſe flames of Arianiſm, they ſay, are quenched, which were the cauſe why the Church deviſed in ſuch ſort to confeſs and praiſe the glorious Deity of the Son of God: ſeeing therefore the ſore is whole, why retain we as yet the plaiſter? When the cauſe why any thing was ordained doth once ceaſe, the thing itſelf ſhould ceaſe with it; that the Church being eaſed of unprofitable labours, needful offices may the better be attended. For the doing of things unneceſſary, is many times the cauſe why the moſt neceſſary are not done. But in this caſe ſo to reaſon, will not ſerve their turns. For firſt, the ground whereupon they build is not certainly their own, but with ſpecial limitations. Few things are ſo reſtrained to any one end or purpoſe, that the ſame being extinct, they ſhould forthwith utterly become fruſtrate. Wiſdom may have framed one and the ſame thing to ſerve commodiouſly for divers ends, and of thoſe ends any one be ſufficient cauſe for continuance, though the reſt have ceaſed; even as the tongue, which nature hath given us for an inſtrument of ſpeech, is not idle in dumb perſons, becauſe it alſo ſerveth for taſte. Again, if time have worn out, or any other mean altogether taken away what was firſt intended, uſes not thought upon before may afterwards ſpring up, and be reaſonable cauſes of retaining that which other conſiderations did formerly procure to be inſtituted. And it cometh ſometime to paſs, that a thing unne-

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their

their own proceedings to glory that whereas Luther did but blow away the roof, and Zuinglius batter but the walls of Popiſh ſuperſtition, the laſt and hardeſt work of all remained, which was to raze up the very ground and foundation of Popery, that doctrine concerning the Deity of Chriſt, which *Satanaſius* (for ſo it pleaſed thoſe impious forſaken miſcreants to ſpeak) hath in this memorable Creed explained. So manifeſtly true is that which one of the ancients hath concerning Arianiſm, *Mortuis authoribus hujus veneni, ſcelerata tamen eorum doctrina non moritur.* The authors of this venom being dead and gone, their wicked doctrine notwithſtanding continueth. Fœbad. contra Ar.

43. Amongſt the heaps of theſe exceſſes and ſuperfluities, there is eſpied the want of a principal part of duty, *There are no thankſgivings for the benefits for which there are petitions in our book of Prayer* [a]. This they have thought a point material to be objected. Neither may we take it in evil part to be admoniſhed, what ſpecial duties of thankfulneſs we owe to that merciful God, for whoſe unſpeakable graces the only requital which we are able to make, is a true, hearty, and ſincere acknowledgment how precious we eſteem ſuch benefits received, and how infinite in goodneſs the Author from whom they come. But that to every petition we make for things needful, there ſhould be ſome anſwerable ſentences of thanks provided particularly to follow ſuch requeſts obtained; either it is not a matter ſo requiſite as they pretend; or if it be, wherefore have they not then in ſuch order framed their own book of Common Prayer? Our want of particular thankſgiving.

[a] As ſuch prayers are needful, whereby we beg releaſe from our diſtreſſes, ſo there ought to be as neceſſary prayers of thankſgiving, when we have received thoſe things at the Lord's hand which we aſked. T. C. l. i. p. 138. I do not ſimply require a ſolemn and expreſs thankſgiving for ſuch benefits; but only upon a ſuppoſition, which is, that if it be expedient that there ſhould be expreſs prayers againſt ſo many of their earthly miſeries, that then alſo it is meet that upon the deliverance there ſhould be an expreſs thankſgiving. T. C. l. iii. p. 209.

Why

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[a] The default of the Book, for that there are no forms of thankſgiving for the releaſe from thoſe common calamities from which we have petitions to be delivered. T. C. l. iii. p. 208.

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any way unglorified, the greateſt part of our daily ſervice, they know, conſiſteth, according to the bleſſed Apoſtle's own preciſe rule, in much variety of pſalms and hymns, for no other purpoſe but only that out of ſo plentiful a treaſure there might be for every man's heart to chooſe out his own ſacrifice, and to offer unto God by particular ſecret inſtinct what fitteth beſt the often occaſions which any ſeveral either party or congregation may ſeem to have. They that would clean take from us, therefore, the daily uſe of the very beſt means we have to magnify and praiſe the name of Almighty God for his rich bleſſings, they that complain of our reading and ſinging ſo many pſalms for ſo good an end; they, I ſay, that find fault with our ſtore, ſhould of all men be leaſt willing to reprove our ſcarcity of thankſgiving. But becauſe peradventure they ſee it is not either generally fit or poſſible that Churches ſhould frame thankſgivings anſwerable to each petition, they ſhorten ſomewhat the reins of their cenſure; there are no forms of thankſgiving, they ſay, for releaſe of thoſe common calamities from which we have petitions to be delivered. *There are prayers ſet forth to be ſaid in the common calamities and univerſal ſcourges of the realm, as plague, famine, &c. And indeed ſo it ought to be by the Word of God. But as ſuch prayers are needful, whereby we beg releaſe from our diſtreſſes, ſo there ought to be as neceſſary prayers of thankſgiving, when we have received thoſe things at the Lord's hands which we aſked in our prayers.* As oft, therefore, as any public or univerſal ſcourge is removed, as oft as we are delivered from thoſe, either imminent or preſent calamities, againſt the ſtorm and tempeſt whereof we all inſtantly craved favour from above, let it be a queſtion what we ſhould render unto God for his bleſſings univerſally, ſenſibly, and extraordinarily beſtowed. A prayer of three or four lines inſerted into ſome part of our Church Liturgy? No, we are not perſuaded that when God doth in trouble enjoin us the

Eph. v. 9. Coloſ. iii. 16.

T. C. l. i. p. 138.

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the duty of invocation, and promiſe us the benefit of deliverance, and profeſs that the thing he expecteth after at our hands is to glorify him as our mighty and only Saviour, the Church can diſcharge, in manner convenient, a work of ſo great importance, by fore-ordaining ſome ſhort Collect wherein briefly to mention thanks. Our cuſtom therefore, whenſoever ſo great occaſions are incident, is by public authority to appoint, throughout all Churches, ſet and ſolemn forms as well of ſupplication, as of thankſgiving, the preparation and intended complements whereof may ſtir up the minds of men in much more effectual ſort, than if only there ſhould be added to the Book of Prayer that which they require. But we err in thinking that they require any ſuch matter. For albeit their words to our underſtanding be very plain, that in our Book *there are prayers ſet forth* to be ſaid when *common calamities* are felt, as *plague*, *famine*, and ſuch like; again, that *indeed ſo it ought to be by the Word of God*; that likewiſe *there ought to be as neceſſary prayers of thankſgiving when we have received thoſe things*; finally, that the want of ſuch forms of thankſgiving, for the releaſe from thoſe common calamities from which we have petitions to be delivered, is the *default of the Book of Common Prayer*: yet all this they mean but only by way of *ſuppoſition if expreſs prayers* againſt ſo many earthly miſeries were convenient, that then indeed as many expreſs and particular thankſgivings ſhould be likewiſe neceſſary. Seeing therefore we know that they hold the one ſuperfluous, they would not have it ſo underſtood as though their minds were that any ſuch addition to the Book is needful, whatſoever they ſay for argument's ſake concerning this pretended defect. The truth is, they wave in and out, no way ſufficiently grounded, no way reſolved what to think, ſpeak, or write, more than only that becauſe they have taken it upon them, they muſt (no remedy now) be oppoſite.

44. The laſt ſuppoſed fault concerneth ſome few things,

things, the very matter whereof is thought to be much amiſs. In a ſong of praiſe to our Lord Jeſus Chriſt we have theſe words: *When thou hadſt overcome the ſharpneſs of death, thou didſt open the kingdom of Heaven to all believers.* Which maketh ſome ſhew of giving countenance to their error, who think that the faithful which departed this life before the coming of Chriſt, were never till then made partakers of joy, but remained all in that place which they term the Lake of the Fathers. In our Liturgy requeſt is made, that we may be preſerved *from ſudden death.* This ſeemeth frivolous, becauſe the godly ſhould always be prepared to die. Requeſt is made, that God would give thoſe things which we for our unworthineſs dare not aſk. *This*, they ſay, *carrieth with it the note of Popiſh ſervile fear, and ſavoureth not of that confidence and reverent familiarity that the children of God have, through Chriſt, with their heavenly Father.* Requeſt is made, that we may evermore be defended from all adverſity. For this *there is no promiſe in Scripture*; and therefore *it is no prayer of Faith, or of the which we can aſſure ourſelves that we ſhall obtain it.* Finally, requeſt is made, that God *would have mercy upon all men.* This is impoſſible, becauſe ſome are veſſels of wrath, to whom God will never extend his mercy.

In ſome things the matter of our prayer, as they affirm, unſound.

45. As Chriſt hath purchaſed that heavenly kingdom, the laſt perfection whereof is *glory in the life to come*, grace in this life, a preparation thereunto; ſo the ſame he hath opened to the world in ſuch ſort, that whereas none can poſſibly without him attain ſalvation, by him all that believe are ſaved. Now whatſoever he did or ſuffered, the end thereof was to open the doors of the kingdom of Heaven which our iniquities had ſhut up. But becauſe by aſcending after that the ſharpneſs of death was overcome, he took the very local poſſeſſion of glory, and that to the uſe of all that are his, even as himſelf before had witneſſed, *I go to prepare a place for you*; and again, *whom thou haſt*

When thou hadſt overcome the ſharpneſs of death, thou didſt open the kingdom of Heaven unto all believers.

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haſt given me, O Father, I will that where I am, they be alſo with me, that my glory, which thou haſt given me, they may behold; it appeareth, that when Chriſt did aſcend, he then moſt liberally opened the kingdom of Heaven, to the end that with him, and by him, all believers might reign. In what eſtate the Fathers reſted which were dead before, it is not hereby either one way or other determined. All that we can rightly gather is, that as touching their ſouls, what degree of joy or happineſs ſoever it pleaſed God to beſtow upon them, his aſcenſion which ſucceeded procured theirs, and theirs concerning the body muſt needs be not only of, but after his. As therefore Helvidius, againſt whom St. Jerom writeth, abuſed greatly thoſe words of Matthew concerning Joſeph and the Mother of our Saviour Chriſt, *He knew her not till ſhe had brought forth her firſt-born*, thereby gathering, againſt the honour of the bleſſed Virgin, that a thing denied with ſpecial circumſtance doth import an oppoſite affirmation when once that circumſtance is expired; after the ſelf-ſame manner, it ſhould be a weak collection, if whereas we ſay, that when Chriſt had *overcome the ſharpneſs of death, he* then *opened the kingdom of Heaven to all believers*; a thing in ſuch ſort affirmed with circumſtance, were taken as inſinuating an oppoſite denial before that circumſtance be accompliſhed, and conſequently, that, becauſe when the ſharpneſs of death was overcome, he then opened Heaven as well to believing Gentiles as Jews, Heaven till then was no receptacle to the ſouls of either. Wherefore, be the ſpirits of the juſt and righteous before Chriſt truly or falſely thought excluded out of heavenly joy; by that which we in the words alleged before do attribute to Chriſt's aſcenſion, there is to no ſuch opinion, nor to the favourers thereof, any countenance at all given. We cannot better interpret the meaning of theſe words than Pope Leo himſelf expoundeth them, whoſe ſpeech concerning our Lord's aſcenſion may ſerve inſtead of a marginal gloſs: *Chriſt's exaltation is our promotion*;

John xiv. 2. and xvii. 24.

Jerom contra Helvid. Auguſt. Her. lxxxiv.

Lyr. ſuper Gen. xxix. Th. p. 3, q. 52, or 5.

promotion; and whither the glory of the Head is already gone before, thither the hope of the Body also is to follow. For at this day, we have not only the possession of Paradise assured unto us; but in Christ we have entered the highest of the heavens. His *opening the kingdom of Heaven*, and his entrance thereinto, was not only to his own use, but for the benefit of *all believers*. BOOK V. Leo. Ser. 1. de Ascens.

46. Our good or evil estate after death dependeth most upon the quality of our lives. Yet somewhat there is, why a virtuous mind should rather wish to depart this world with a kind of treatable dissolution, than to be suddenly cut off in a moment; rather to be taken than snatched away from the face of the earth. Death is that which all men suffer, but not all men with one mind, neither all men in one manner. For being of necessity a thing common, it is, through the manifold persuasions, dispositions, and occasions of men, with equal desert both of praise and dispraise, shunned by some, by others desired. So that absolutely we cannot discommend, we cannot absolutely approve either willingness to live, or forwardness to die. And concerning the ways of death, albeit the choice thereof be only in his hands who alone hath power over all flesh, and unto whose appointment we ought with patience meekly to submit ourselves, (for to be agents voluntarily in our own destruction is against both God and Nature;) yet there is no doubt, but in so great variety our desires will and may lawfully prefer one kind before another. Is there any man of worth and virtue, although not instructed in the school of Christ, or ever taught what the soundness of Religion meaneth, that had not rather end the days of this transitory life as Cyrus in Xenophon, or in Plato Socrates are described, than to sink down with them of whom Elihu hath said, *Momento moriuntur*, there is scarce an instant between their flourishing and their not being? But let us which know what it is to die as Absalom, or Ananias and Sapphira died; let us beg of God, that when the hour of our rest is come, the Touching Prayer for deliverance from sudden death. Job xx. 5.

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the patterns of our diſſolution may be Jacob, Moſes, Joſhua, David; who, leiſurably ending their lives in peace, prayed for the mercies of God to come upon their poſterity, repleniſhed the hearts of the neareſt unto them with words of memorable conſolation, ſtrengthened men in the fear of God, gave them wholeſome inſtructions of life, and confirmed them in true Religion; in ſum, taught the world no leſs virtuouſly how to die, than they had done before how to live. To ſuch as judge things according to the ſenſe of natural men and aſcend no higher, ſuddenneſs, becauſe it ſhorteneth their grief, ſhould in reaſon be moſt acceptable. That which cauſeth bitterneſs in death, is the languiſhing attendance and expectation thereof ere it come. And therefore tyrants uſe what art they can to increaſe the ſlowneſs of death. Quick riddance out of life is often both requeſted and beſtowed as a benefit. Commonly therefore it is, for virtuous conſiderations, that wiſdom ſo far prevaileth with men as to make them deſirous of ſlow and deliberate death againſt the ſtream of their ſenſual inclination, content to endure the longer grief and bodily pain, that the ſoul may have time to call itſelf to a juſt account of all things paſt, by means whereof repentance is perfected, there is wherein to exerciſe patience, the joys of the kingdom of Heaven have leiſure to preſent themſelves, the pleaſures of ſin and this world's vanities are cenſured with uncorrupt judgment, charity is free to make adviſed choice of the ſoil wherein her laſt ſeed may moſt fruitfully be beſtowed, the mind is at liberty to have due regard of that diſpoſition of worldly things which it can never afterwards alter; and becauſe the nearer we draw unto God, the more we are oftentimes enlightened with the ſhining beams of his glorious preſence, as being then even almoſt in ſight, a leiſurable departure may in that caſe bring forth, for the good of ſuch as are preſent, that which ſhall cauſe them for ever after from the bottom of their hearts to pray, *O let us die the death of [illegible]*,

Heb. xi. 21. Deut. xxxiii. Joſh. xxiv. 1 Kings ii.

Cypr. de Mortal.

righteous, and let our laſt end be like theirs. All which benefits and opportunities are by ſudden death prevented. And beſides, for as much as death howſoever is a general effect of the wrath of God againſt ſin, and the ſuddenneſs thereof a thing which happeneth but to few; the world in this reſpect feareth it the more as being ſubject to doubtful conſtructions, which as no man willingly would incur, ſo they whoſe happy eſtate after life is of all men's the moſt certain, ſhould eſpecially wiſh that no ſuch accident in their death may give uncharitable minds occaſion of raſh, ſiniſter, and ſuſpicious verdicts, whereunto they are over-prone. So that whether evil men or good be reſpected, whether we regard ourſelves or others, to be preſerved from ſudden death is a bleſſing of God. And our prayer againſt it importeth a twofold deſire; firſt, that death when it cometh may give us ſome convenient reſpite; or, ſecondly, if that be denied us of God, yet we may have wiſdom to provide always beforehand; that thoſe evils overtake us not, which death unexpected doth uſe to bring upon careleſs men, and that although it be ſudden in itſelf, nevertheleſs, in regard of our prepared minds, it may not be ſudden.

Prayer that thoſe things which we for our unworthineſs dare not aſk, God for the worthineſs of his Son would vouchſafe to grant.

47. But is it credible that the very acknowledgment of our own unworthineſs to obtain, and in that reſpect our profeſſed fearfulneſs to aſk any thing, otherwiſe than only for his ſake to whom God can deny nothing, that this ſhould be noted for a Popiſh error; that this ſhould be termed baſeneſs, abjection of mind, or ſervility, is it credible? That which we for our unworthineſs are afraid to crave, our prayer is, that God for the worthineſs of his Son would notwithſtanding vouchſafe to grant. May it pleaſe them to ſhew us which of theſe words it is that carrieth the note of Popiſh and ſervile fear? [a] In

[a] This requeſt carrieth with it ſtill the note of the Popiſh ſervile fear, and favoureth not of that confidence and reverent familiarity that the children of God have, through Chriſt, with their heavenly Father. T. C. l. i. p. 136.

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reference to other creatures of this inferior world, man's worth and excellency is admired. Compared with God, the trueſt inſcription wherewith we can circle ſo baſe a coin is that of David, *Univerſa vanitas eſt omnis homo*; whoſoever hath the name of a mortal man, there is in him whatſoever the name of vanity doth comprehend. And therefore what we ſay of our own unworthineſs there is no doubt but truth will ratify; alleged in prayer, it both becometh and behoveth ſaints. For as humility is in ſuiters a decent virtue; ſo the teſtification thereof by ſuch effectual acknowledgments, not only argueth a ſound apprehenſion of his ſuper-eminent glory and majeſty before whom we ſtand, [a] but putteth alſo into his hands a kind of pledge or bond for ſecurity againſt our unthankfulneſs, the very natural root whereof is always either ignorance, diſſimulation, or pride—ignorance, when we know not the Author from whom our good cometh: diſſimulation, when our hands are more open than our eyes upon that we receive: pride, when we think ourſelves worthy of that which mere grace and undeſerved mercy beſtoweth. In prayer, therefore, to abate ſo vain imaginations with the true conceit of unworthineſs, is rather to prevent than commit a fault. It being no error thus to think, no fault thus to ſpeak of ourſelves when we pray; is it a fault, that the conſideration of our unworthineſs maketh us fearful to open our mouths by way of ſuit? While Job had proſperity and lived in honour, men feared him for his authority's ſake, and in token of their fear, when they ſaw him, they hid themſelves. Between Elihu and the reſt of Job's familiars, the greateſt diſparity was but in years: and he, though riper than they in judgment, doing them reverence in regard of age, ſtood long [b] doubt-

Pſal. xxxix. 5.

Job xxix. 8.

Job xxxii. 6.

[a] Μιμνήμενος γὰρ τῆς ἰδίας παρὰ πάντα ἀδυνάτου, μιμνήσῃ καὶ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ παρὰ πάντα ὑπερβολῆς. Phil. de Sacrif. Abel. et Cain.

[b] Amongſt the parts of honour Ariſtotle reckoneth π… and ἱκετείας. Rhet. l. i. c. 5.

ful and very loth to adventure upon ſpeech in his elders' hearing. If ſo ſmall inequality between man and man make their modeſty a commendable virtue, who reſpecting ſuperiors, as ſuperiors, can neither ſpeak nor ſtand before them without fear; that the Publican approacheth not more boldly to God; that when Chriſt in mercy draweth near to Peter, he in humility and fear craveth diſtance; that being to ſtand, to ſpeak, to ſue in the preſence of ſo great Majeſty, we are afraid, let no man blame us. [a] In which conſideration notwithſtanding, becauſe to fly altogether from God, to deſpair that creatures unworthy ſhall be able to obtain any thing at his hands, and under that pretence to ſurceaſe from prayers as bootleſs or fruitleſs offices, were to him no leſs injurious than pernicious to our own ſouls; even that which we tremble to do we do, we aſk thoſe things which we dare not aſk. The knowledge of our own unworthineſs is not without belief in the merits of Chriſt. With that true fear which the one cauſeth, there is coupled true boldneſs, and encouragement drawn from the other. The very ſilence which our unworthineſs putteth us unto, doth itſelf make requeſt for us, and that in the confidence of his grace. Looking inward we are ſtricken dumb; looking upward, we ſpeak and prevail. O happy mixture, wherein things contrary do ſo qualify and correct the one the danger of the other's exceſs, that neither boldneſs can make us preſume, as long as we are kept under with the ſenſe of our own wretchedneſs; nor, while we truſt in the mercy of God through Jeſus Chriſt, fear be able to tyrannize over us! As therefore our fear excludeth not that boldneſs which becometh ſaints; Rom. v. 2, 8, 15. Heb. x. 19.

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[a] The Publican did indeed not lift up his eyes. So that if by his example we ſhould ſay, we dare aſk nothing, we ought alſo to aſk nothing; otherwiſe, inſtead of teaching true humility, we open a ſchool to hypocriſy, which the Lord deteſteth. T. C. p. 203.

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ſo if our familiarity with God do not ſavour of this fear, it draweth too near that irreverent confidence wherewith true humility can never ſtand.

Prayer to be evermore delivered from all adverſity.

48. Touching continual deliverance in the world from all adverſity, their conceit is that we ought not to aſk it of God by prayer, foraſmuch as in Scripture there is no promiſe that we ſhall be evermore free from vexations, calamities, and troubles. [a] Minds religiouſly affected are wont in every thing of weight and moment, which they do or ſee, to examine, according unto rules of piety, what dependency it hath on God, what reference to themſelves, what coherence with any of thoſe duties whereunto all things in the world ſhould lead, and accordingly they frame the inward diſpoſition of their minds, ſometime to admire God, ſometime to bleſs him and give him thanks, ſometime to exult in his love, ſometime to implore his mercy. All which different elevations of ſpirit unto God are contained in the name of prayer. Every good and holy deſire, though it lack the form, hath notwithſtanding in itſelf the ſubſtance, and with him the force of a prayer, who regardeth the very moanings, groans, and ſighs of the heart of man. Petitionary prayer belongeth only to ſuch as are in themſelves impotent, and ſtand in need of relief from others. We thereby declare unto God what our own deſire is, that he by his power ſhould effect. It preſuppoſeth therefore in us, firſt, the want of that which we pray for: ſecondly, a feeling of that want: thirdly, an earneſt willingneſs of mind to be eaſed therein: fourthly, a declaration of this our deſire in the ſight of God; not as if he ſhould be otherwiſe ignorant of our neceſſities, but becauſe we this way ſhew we honour him as our

[a] Foraſmuch as there is no promiſe in the Scripture, that we ſhould be free from all adverſity, and that evermore; it ſeemeth that this prayer might have been better conceived, being [illegible] prayer of Faith, or of the which we can aſſure ourſelves that we ſhall obtain it. T. C. l. i. p. 136.

God,

God, and are verily perſuaded that no good thing can come to paſs which he by his omnipotent power effecteth not. Now becauſe there is no man's prayer acceptable whoſe perſon is odious, neither any man's perſon gracious without Faith, it is of neceſſity required that they which pray, do believe. The prayers which our Lord and Saviour made were for his own worthineſs accepted; ours God accepteth not but with this condition, [a] if they be joined with belief in Chriſt. The prayers of the juſt are accepted always, but not always thoſe things granted for which they pray. For in prayer, if faith and aſſurance to obtain were both one and the ſame thing, ſeeing that the effect of not obtaining is a plain teſtimony that they which pray were not ſure they ſhould obtain; it would follow, that their prayer being without certainty of the event, was alſo made unto God without faith, and conſequently that God abhorred it. Which to think of ſo many prayers of Saints as we find have failed in particular requeſts, how abſurd were it! His faithful people have this comfort, that whatſoever they rightly aſk, the ſame no doubt but they ſhall receive, ſo far as may ſtand with the glory of God and their own everlaſting good; unto either of which two, it is no virtuous man's purpoſe to ſeek, or deſire to obtain any thing prejudicial; and therefore that clauſe which our Lord and Saviour in the prayer of his agony did expreſs, we in petitions of like nature do always imply; *Pater, ſi poſſibile eſt*, if it may ſtand with thy will and pleaſure: or if not, but that there be ſecret impediments and cauſes, in regard whereof the thing we pray for is denied us; yet the prayer itſelf which we make is a pleaſing ſacrifice to God, who both accepteth and rewardeth it ſome other way.

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[a] Oratio, quæ non fit per Chriſtum, non ſolum non poteſt delere peccatum, ſed etiam ipſa fit peccatum. Aug. Enar. i. in Pſal. cviii.

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way. So that ſinners, in very truth, are denied when they ſeem to prevail in their ſupplications, becauſe it is not for their ſakes, or to their good, that their ſuits take place; the faithful contrariwiſe, becauſe it is for their good oftentimes that their petitions do not take place, prevail even then when they moſt ſeem denied. *Our Lord God in anger hath granted ſome unpatient men's requeſts; as on the other ſide the Apoſtles ſuit he hath of favour and mercy not granted* (ſaith St. Auguſtine.) To think we may pray unto God for nothing but what he hath promiſed in holy Scripture we ſhall obtain, is perhaps an error. For of prayer there are two uſes. It ſerveth as a mean to procure thoſe things which God hath promiſed to grant when we aſk; and it ſerveth as a mean to expreſs our lawful deſires alſo towards that, which whether we ſhall have or no, we know not, till we ſee the event. Things in themſelves unholy or unſeemly, we may not aſk; we may whatſoever, being not forbidden, either Nature or Grace ſhall reaſonably move us to wiſh as importing the good of men; albeit God himſelf have no where by promiſe aſſured us of that particular which our prayer craveth. To pray for that which is in itſelf, and of its own nature, apparently a thing impoſſible, were nocon venient. Wherefore, though men do without offence wiſh daily that the affairs which with evil ſucceſs are paſt, might have fallen out much better; yet to pray that they may have been any other than they are, this being a manifeſt impoſſibility in itſelf, the rules of Religion do not permit. Whereas contrariwiſe, when things of their own nature contingent and mutable, are by the ſecret determination of God appointed one way, though we the other way make our prayers, and conſequently aſk thoſe things of God, which are by this ſuppoſition impoſſible, we notwithſtanding do not hereby in prayer tranſgreſs our lawful bounds. That Chriſt, as the only begotten Son of God, having no ſuperior,

Numb. xi. 33. 1 Sam. viii. 7. Job i. 12. and ii. 6. Luke viii. 32. 2 Cor. xii. 7, 8, 9. Aug. Epiſt. cxxx. ad Probam viduam, cap. xiv. tom. ii. p. 392. ed. Par.

ſuperior, and therefore owing honour unto none, neither ſtanding in any need, ſhould either give thanks or make petition unto God, were moſt abſurd. As man, what could beſeem him better, whether we reſpect his affection to God-ward, or his own neceſſity, or his charity and love towards men? Some things he knew ſhould come to paſs, and notwithſtanding prayed for them, becauſe he alſo knew that the neceſſary means to effect them were his prayers. As in the Pſalm it is ſaid, *Aſk of me, and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the ends of the earth for thy poſſeſſion:* wherefore, that which here God promiſeth his Son, the ſame in the ſeventeenth of John he prayeth for: *Father, the hour is come, glorify thy Son, that thy Son alſo may glorify thee, according as thou haſt given him power over all fleſh.* But had Chriſt the like promiſe concerning the effect of every particular for which he prayed? That which was not effected could not be promiſed. And we know in what ſort he prayed for removal of that bitter cup, which he taſted notwithſtanding his prayer. To ſhift off this example they anſwer firſt, [a] *That as other children of God, ſo Chriſt had a promiſe of deliverance as far as the glory of God in the accompliſhment of his vocation would ſuffer.* And if we ourſelves have not alſo in that ſort the promiſe of God to be evermore delivered from all adverſity, what meaneth the ſacred Scripture to ſpeak in ſo large terms? *Be obedient, and the Lord thy God will make thee plenteous in every work of thy hand, in the fruit of thy body, and in the fruit of thy cattle, and in the fruit of the land for thy wealth.* Again, *Keep his laws, and thou ſhalt be bleſt above all people; the Lord ſhall take from thee all infirmities. The man whoſe* BOOK V. Pſal. ii. 8. John xvii. 1, 2. Matt. xxvi. 39. Mark xiv. 36. Luke xxii. 42. Deut. xxx. 9. Deut. vii. 15. Pſal. i. 4.

[a] Neither did our Saviour Chriſt pray without promiſe; for as other the children of God, to whoſe condition he had humbled himſelf, have, ſo had he a promiſe of deliverance ſo far as the glory of God in that accompliſhment of his vocation would ſuffer. T. iii. p. 200.

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delight is in the law of God, whatſoever he doth, it ſhall proſper. For the ungodly there are great plagues remaining; but whoſoever putteth his truſt in the Lord, mercy embraceth him on every ſide. Not only that mercy which keepeth from being overlaid or oppreſſed, but mercy which ſaveth from being touched with grievous miſeries, mercy which turneth away the courſe of *the great water-floods*, and permitteth them not to *come near*. Nevertheleſs, becauſe the prayer of Chriſt did concern but one calamity, they are ſtill bold to deny the lawfulneſs of our prayer for deliverance out of all, yea, though we pray with the ſame exception that he did, *If ſuch deliverance may ſtand with the pleaſure of Almighty God, and not otherwiſe.* For they have, ſecondly, found out a rule, that prayer ought only to be made for deliverance *from this or that particular adverſity, whereof we know not, but upon the event, what the pleaſure of God is.* Which quite overthroweth that other principle, wherein they require unto every prayer which is of Faith, an aſſurance to obtain the thing we pray for. At the firſt to pray againſt all adverſity was unlawful, becauſe we cannot aſſure ourſelves that this will be granted. Now we have licence to pray againſt any particular adverſity, and the reaſon given, becauſe we know not, but upon the event, what God will do. If we know not what God will do, it followeth, that for any aſſurance we have he may do otherwiſe than we pray, and we may faithfully pray for that which we cannot aſſuredly preſume that God will grant. Seeing therefore neither of theſe two anſwers will ſerve the turn, they have a third; which is, [a] that to pray in ſuch ſort is but idly miſpent labour, becauſe God hath already revealed his will touching this requeſt; and we know that the ſuit

Pſal. xxxii. 10.

ver. 6.

T. C. l. iii. p. 201.

[a] We ought not to deſire to be free from all adverſity, if it be his will, conſidering that he hath already declared his will therein. T. C. l. iii. p. 201.

we make is denied before we make it. Which neither is true, and if it were, was Christ ignorant what God had determined touching those things which himself should suffer? To say, *He knew not what weight of sufferances his heavenly Father had measured unto him*, is somewhat hard; harder, that although *he knew them*, notwithstanding for the present time *they were forgotten through the force of those unspeakable pangs which he then was in.* The one against the plain express words of the holy Evangelist, *He knew all things that should come upon him*; the other less credible, if any thing may be of less credit than what the Scripture itself gainsaith. Doth any of them which wrote his sufferings make report that memory failed him? Is there in his words and speeches any sign or defect that way? Did not himself declare before whatsoever was to happen in the course of that whole tragedy? Can we gather by any thing after taken from his own mouth, either in the place of public judgment, or upon the altar of the cross, that through the bruising of his body some part of the treasures of his soul were scattered and slipped from him? If that which was perfect both before and after did fail at this only middle instant, there must appear some manifest cause how it came to pass. True it is, that the pangs of his heaviness and grief were unspeakable; and as true, that because the minds of the afflicted do never think they have fully conceived the weight or measure of their own woe, they use their affection as a whetstone both to wit and memory; these as nurses do feed grief, so that the weaker his conceit had been touching that which he was to suffer, the more it must needs in that hour have helped to the mitigation of his anguish. But his anguish we see was then at the very highest whereunto it could possibly rise; which argueth his deep apprehension, even to the last drop of the gall which that cup contained, and of every circumstance wherein there was any force to augment heaviness; but

T. C. l. iii. p. 291.

John xviii. 4.

BOOK V. but above all things, the reſolute determination of God and his own unchangeable purpoſe, which he at that time could not forget. To what intent then was his prayer, which plainly teſtifieth ſo great willingneſs to avoid death? Will, whether it be in God or man, belongeth to the eſſence or nature of both. The nature therefore of God being one, there are not in God divers wills, although the Godhead be in divers perſons, becauſe the power of willing is a natural, not a perſonal propriety. Contrariwiſe, the perſon of our Saviour Chriſt being but one, there are in him two wills; becauſe two natures, the nature of God, and the nature of man, which both do imply this faculty and power. So that in Chriſt there is a divine, and there is an human will, otherwiſe he were not both God and man. Hereupon the Church hath of old condemned Monothelites as Heretics, for holding that Chriſt had but one will. The works and operations of our Saviour's human will were all ſubject to the will
Pſal. xl. 8. of God, and framed according to his Law: *I deſire to do thy will, O God, and thy law is within mine heart.* Now as man's will, ſo the will of Chriſt hath two ſeveral kinds of operation, the one natural or neceſſary, whereby it deſireth ſimply whatſoever is good in itſelf, and ſhunneth as generally all things which hurt; the other deliberate, when we therefore embrace things as good, becauſe the eye of underſtanding judgeth them good to that end which we ſimply deſire. Thus in itſelf we deſire health, phyſic only for health's ſake. And in this ſort ſpecial reaſon oftentimes cauſeth the will by choice to prefer one good thing before another, to leave one for another's ſake, to forego meaner for the attainment of higher deſires, which our Saviour likewiſe did. Theſe different inclinations of the will conſidered, the reaſon is eaſy, how in Chriſt there might grow deſires ſeeming, but being not indeed oppoſite, either the one of them unto the other,

other, or either of them to the will of God. For let the manner of his ſpeech be weighed: *My ſoul is now troubled, and what ſhall I ſay? Father, ſave me out of this hour. But yet for this very cauſe I am come unto this hour.* His purpoſe herein was moſt effectually to propoſe to the view of the whole world two contrary objects, the like whereunto in force and efficacy were never preſented in that manner to any, but only to the ſoul of Chriſt. There was preſented before his eyes in that fearful hour, on the one ſide, God's heavy indignation and wrath towards mankind, as yet unappeaſed, death as yet in full ſtrength, hell as yet never maſtered by any that came within the confines and bounds thereof, ſomewhat alſo peradventure more than is either poſſible or needful for the wit of man to find out; finally, himſelf fleſh and blood [a] left alone to enter into conflict with all theſe: on the other ſide, a world to be ſaved by one, a pacification of wrath through the dignity of that ſacrifice which ſhould be offered, a conqueſt over death through the power of that Deity which would not ſuffer the tabernacle thereof to ſee corruption, and an utter diſappointment of all the forces of infernal powers, through the purity of that ſoul which they ſhould have in their hands and not be able to touch. Let no man marvel that in this caſe the ſoul of Chriſt was much troubled. For what could ſuch apprehenſions breed, but (as their

John xii. 27.

Mat. xxvii. 46.

[a] Non potuit divinitas humanitatem et ſecundum aliquid deſeruiſſe, et ſecundum aliquid non deſeruiſſe? Subtraxit protectionem, ſed non ſuperavit unionem. Sic ergo dereliquit ut non adjuvaret, ſed non dereliquit ut recederet. Sic ergo humanitas a divinitate in paſſione derelicta eſt. Quam tamen mortem quia non pro ſua iniquitate, ſed pro noſtra redemptione ſuſtinuit, quare ſit derelicta requiret, non quaſi adverſus Deum de pœna murmurans, ſed nobis innocentiam ſuam in pœna demonſtrans. Hug. de Sacram. lib. ii. part. 1. cap. 10. Deus meus, utquid dereliquiſti me? Vox eſt nec ignorantiæ, nec diffidentiæ, nec querelæ, ſed admirationis tantum, quæ aliis inveſtigandæ cauſæ ardorem et diligentiam acuat.

nature

BOOK V. nature is) inexplicable paſſions of mind, deſires abhorring what they embrace, and embracing what they abhor; in which agony, *how ſhould the tongue go about to expreſs what the ſoul endureth?* When the griefs of Job were exceeding great, his words accordingly to open them were many; howbeit, ſtill unto
Job xxiii. 2. his ſeeming they were undiſcovered: *Though my talk* (ſaith Job) *be this day in bitterneſs, yet my plague is greater than my groaning.* But here to what purpoſe ſhould words ſerve, when nature hath more to declare than groans and ſtrong cries, more than ſtreams of bloody ſweats, more than his doubled and tripled prayers can expreſs, who thrice putting forth his hand to receive the cup, beſides which there was no other cauſe of his coming into the world, he thrice pulleth it back again, and as often, even with tears of blood, craveth, *If it be poſſible, O Father; or if not, even what thine own good pleaſure is*; for whoſe ſake the paſſion, that hath in it a bitter and a bloody conflict, even with wrath, and death, and hell, is moſt welcome. Whereas therefore we find in God a will reſolved that Chriſt ſhall ſuffer; and in the human will of Chriſt two actual deſires, the one avoiding, and the other accepting death; is that deſire which firſt declareth itſelf by prayer, againſt that wherewith he concludeth prayer, or either of them againſt his mind to whom prayer in this caſe ſeeketh? We may judge of theſe diverſities in the will, by the like in the underſtanding. For as the intellectual part doth not croſs itſelf, by conceiving man to be juſt and unjuſt when it meaneth not the ſame man, nor by imagining the ſame man learned and unlearned, if learned in one ſkill, and in another kind of learning unſkilful, becauſe the parts of every true oppoſition do always both concern the ſame ſubject, and have reference to the ſame thing, ſith otherwiſe they are but in ſhew oppoſite, and not in truth; ſo the will about one and the ſame thing may in contrary reſpects have contrary inclinations,

and

and that without contrariety. The miniſter of juſtice may, for public example to others, virtuouſly will the execution of that party whoſe pardon another for conſanguinity's ſake as virtuouſly may deſire. Conſider death in itſelf, and nature teacheth Chriſt to ſhun it. Conſider death as a mean to procure the ſalvation of the world, and mercy worketh in Chriſt all willingneſs of mind towards it. Therefore in theſe two deſires there can be no repugnant oppoſition. Again, compare them with the will of God, and if any oppoſition be, it muſt be only between his appointment of Chriſt's death and the former deſire which wiſheth deliverance from death. But neither is this deſire oppoſite to the will of God. The will of God was, that Chriſt ſhould ſuffer the pains of death. Not ſo his will, as if the torment of innocency did in itſelf pleaſe and delight God; but ſuch was his will, in regard of the end whereunto it was neceſſary, that Chriſt ſhould ſuffer. The death of Chriſt in itſelf, therefore, God willeth not, which to the end we might thereby obtain life, he both alloweth and appointeth. In like manner, the Son of man endureth willingly to that purpoſe thoſe grievous pains, which ſimply not to have ſhunned had been againſt nature, and by conſequent againſt God. I take it therefore to be an error, that Chriſt either knew not what himſelf was to ſuffer, or elſe had forgotten the things he knew. The root of which error was an overreſtrained conſideration of prayer, as though it had no other lawful uſe but only to ſerve for a choſen mean, whereby the will reſolveth to ſeek that which the underſtanding certainly knoweth it ſhall obtain: whereas prayers, in truth, both ours are, and his were, as well ſometime a preſentation of mere deſires, as a mean of procuring deſired effects at the hand of God. We are therefore taught by his example, that the preſence of dolorous and dreadful objects, even in minds moſt perfect, may as clouds overcaſt

Iſai. liii. 10. Job x. 15.

BOOK V. overcaſt all ſenſible joy; that no aſſurance touching future victories can make preſent conflicts ſo ſweet and eaſy, but nature will ſhun and ſhrink from them, nature will deſire caſe and deliverance from oppreſſive burthens; that the contrary determination of God is oftentimes againſt the effect of this deſire, yet not againſt the affection itſelf, becauſe it is naturally in us; that in ſuch caſe our prayers cannot ſerve us as means to obtain the thing we deſire; that notwithſtanding they are unto God moſt acceptable ſacrifices, becauſe they teſtify we deſire nothing but at his hands, and our deſires we ſubmit with contentment to be over-ruled by his will; and in general they are not repugnant unto the natural will of God, which wilheth to the works of his own hands, in that they are his own handy-work, all happineſs; although perhaps for ſome ſpecial cauſe in our own particular, a contrary determination have ſeemed more convenient; finally, that thus to propoſe our deſires which cannot take ſuch effects as we ſpecify, ſhall notwithſtanding otherwiſe procure us his heavenly grace, even as this very prayer of Chriſt obtained Angels to be ſent him as comforters in his agony. And, according to this example, we are not afraid to preſent unto God our prayers for thoſe things, which that he will perform unto us we have no ſure nor certain knowledge. St. Paul's prayer for the Church of Corinth was, that they might not do any evil, although he knew that no man liveth which ſinneth not, although he knew that in this life we always muſt pray, [a] *Forgive us our ſins.* It is our frailty, that in many things we all do amiſs; but it virtue, that we would do amiſs in nothing, and a teſtimony of that virtue, when we pray that what occaſion of ſin ſoever do offer itſelf,

Luke xxii. 43.

2 Cor. xiii. 7.

[a] We may not pray in this life to be free from all ſin, becauſe we muſt always pray, Forgive us our ſins. T. C. lib. iii. p. 200.

we

we may be ſtrengthened from above to withſtand it. They pray in vain to have ſin pardoned, which ſeek not alſo to prevent ſin by prayer, even every particular ſin, by prayer againſt all ſin; except men can name ſome tranſgreſſion wherewith we ought to have truce. For in very deed, although we cannot be free from all ſin collectively, in ſuch ſort that no part thereof ſhall be found inherent in us, yet diſtributively, at the leaſt, all great and grievous actual offences, as they offer themſelves one by one, both may and ought to be by all means avoided. So that in this ſenſe, to be preſerved from all ſin, is not impoſſible. Finally, concerning deliverance itſelf from all adverſity, we uſe not to ſay men are in adverſity whenſoever they feel any ſmall hinderance of their welfare in this world, but when ſome notable affliction or croſs, ſome great calamity or trouble befalleth them. Tribulation hath in it divers circumſtances, the mind ſundry faculties to apprehend them: it offereth ſometime itſelf to the lower powers of the ſoul, as a moſt unpleaſant ſpectacle; to the higher ſometimes, as drawing after it a train of dangerous inconveniences; ſometime as bringing with it remedies for the curing of ſundry evils, as God's inſtrument of revenge and fury ſometimes; ſometime as a rod of his juſt, yet moderate ire and diſpleaſure; ſometime as matter for them that ſpitefully hate us to exerciſe their poiſoned malice; ſometime as a furnace of trial for virtue to ſhew itſelf, and through conflict to obtain glory. Which different contemplations of adverſity do work for the moſt part their anſwerable effects. Adverſity either apprehended by ſenſe as a thing offenſive and grievous to nature, or by reaſon conceived as a ſnare, an occaſion of many men's falling from God, a ſequel of God's indignation and wrath, a thing which Satan deſireth and would be glad to behold; tribulation thus conſidered being preſent cauſeth ſorrow, and being imminent breedeth fear.

For

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For moderation of which two affections, growing from the very natural bitterneſs and gall of adverſity; the Scripture much allegeth contrary fruits, which affliction likewiſe hath whenſoever it falleth on them that are tractable, the grace of God's Holy Spirit concurring therewith. But when the Apoſtle St. Paul teacheth, *That every one which will live godly in Chriſt Jeſus, muſt ſuffer perſecution*, [a] and, *by many tribulations we muſt enter into the kingdom of Heaven*, becauſe in a foreſt of many wolves, ſheep cannot chooſe but feed in continual danger of life; or when St. James exhorteth to *account it a matter of exceeding joy, when we fall into divers temptations*, becauſe *by the trial of faith, patience* is brought forth; was it, ſuppoſe we, their meaning to fruſtrate our Lord's admonition, *Pray that ye enter not into temptation?* When himſelf pronounceth them bleſſed that ſhould for his name's ſake be ſubject to all kinds of ignominy and opprobrious malediction, was it his purpoſe that no man ſhould ever pray with David, *Lord, remove from me ſhame and contempt?* In thoſe tribulations, ſaith St. Auguſtine, *which may hurt as well as profit, we muſt ſay with the Apoſtle, What we ſhould aſk as we ought we know not; yet becauſe they are tough, becauſe they are grievous, becauſe the ſenſe of our weakneſs flieth them, we pray according to the general deſire of the will of man, that God would turn them away from us: owing in the mean while this devotion to the Lord our God; that if he remove them not, yet we do not therefore imagine ourſelves in his ſight deſpiſed, but rather with godly ſufferance of evils expect greater good at his merciful hands. For thus is virtue in weakneſs perfected.* To the fleſh (as the Apoſtle himſelf granteth) all affliction is naturally grievous. Therefore nature, which cauſeth to fear, teacheth to

Pſal. cxix. 71.

2 Tim. iii. 12.

Jam. i. 2, 3.

Pſal. cxix. 22.

Aug. Epiſt. 130. c. 14. ad Probam, p. 392. tom. ii. ed. Par.

[a] To pray againſt perſecution, is contrary to that word which ſaith, That every one which will live godly in Chriſt Jeſus, muſt ſuffer perſecution. T. C. lib. iii. p. 200.

pray

pray againſt all adverſity. Proſperity in regard of our corrupt inclination to abuſe the bleſſings of Almighty God, doth prove for the moſt part a thing dangerous to the ſouls of men. Very eaſe itſelf is death to the wicked, *and the proſperity of fools ſlayeth them:* their table is a ſnare, and their felicity their utter overthrow. Few men there are which long proſper and ſin not. Howbeit, even as theſe ill effects, although they be very uſual and common, are no bar to the hearty prayers whereby moſt virtuous minds wiſh peace and proſperity always where they love, becauſe they conſider that this in itſelf is a thing naturally deſired: ſo becauſe all adverſity is in itſelf againſt nature, what ſhould hinder to pray againſt it, although the providence of God turn it often unto the great good of many men? Such prayers of the Church to be delivered from all adverſity are no more repugnant to any reaſonable diſpoſition of men's minds towards death, much leſs to that bleſſed patience and meek contentment which Saints by heavenly inſpiration have to endure, (what croſs or calamity ſoever it pleaſeth God to lay upon them,) than our Lord and Saviour's own prayer before his paſſion was repugnant unto his moſt gracious reſolution to die for the ſins of the whole world.

Prov. i. 32.

49. In praying for deliverance from all adverſity, we ſeek that which nature doth wiſh to itſelf; but by intreating for mercy towards all, we declare that affection wherewith Chriſtian charity thirſteth after the good of the whole world; we diſcharge that duty which the Apoſtle himſelf doth impoſe on the Church of Chriſt, as a commendable office, a ſacrifice acceptable in God's ſight, a ſervice according to his heart, whoſe deſire is to have all men ſaved: a work moſt ſuitable with his purpoſe, who gave himſelf to be the price of redemption for all, and a forcible mean to procure the converſion of all ſuch as are not yet acquainted with the myſteries of that truth which muſt ſave their ſouls. Againſt it,

Prayer, that all men may find mercy, and of the will of God that all men might be ſaved.

1 Tim. ii. 3.

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there is but the bare ſhew of this one impediment, that all men's ſalvation, and many men's eternal condemnation or death, are things, the one repugnant to the other; that both cannot be brought to paſs; that we know there are veſſels of wrath, to whom God will never extend mercy, and therefore that wittingly we aſk an impoſſible thing to be had. The truth is, that as life and death, mercy and wrath, are matters of mere underſtanding or knowledge, all men's ſalvation, and ſome men's endleſs perdition, are things ſo oppoſite, that whoſoever doth affirm the one muſt neceſſarily deny the other; God himſelf cannot effect both, or determine that both ſhall be. There is in the knowledge both of God and man this certainty, that life and death hath divided between them the whole body of mankind. What portion either of the two hath, God himſelf knoweth; for us he hath left no ſufficient means to comprehend, and for that cauſe neither given any leave to ſearch in particular who are infallibly the heirs of the kingdom of God, who caſt-aways. Howbeit, concerning the ſtate of all men with whom we live, (for only of them our prayers are meant,) we may till the world's end, for the preſent, always preſume, that as far as in us there is power to diſcern what others are; and as far as any duty of ours dependeth upon the notice of their condition in reſpect of God, the ſafeſt axioms for charity to reſt itſelf upon, are theſe: *He which believeth already, is*; and *he which believeth not as yet, may be the child of God.* It becometh not us, *during life, altogether to condemn any man, ſeeing that* (for any thing we know) *there is hope of every man's forgiveneſs; the poſſibility of whoſe repentance is not yet cut off by death.* And therefore charity, which *hopeth all things*, prayeth alſo for all men. Wherefore to let go perſonal knowledge touching veſſels of wrath and mercy, what they are inwardly in the ſight of God it ſkilleth not; for us there is cauſe ſufficient in all men, whereupon to ground our prayers unto God in their behalf.

Sidon. Apol. lib. vi. Epiſt.

1 Cor. xiv. 7.

behalf. For whatſoever the mind of man appre- BOOK V.
hendeth as good, the will of charity and love is to have it enlarged in the very uttermoſt extent, that all may enjoy it to whom it can any way add perfection. Becauſe, therefore, the farther a good thing doth reach, the nobler and worthier we reckon it; our prayers for all men's good, no leſs than for our own, the Apoſtle with very fit terms commendeth as being καλὸν, a work commendable for the largeneſs of the affection from whence it ſpringeth; even as theirs which have requeſted at God's hands the ſalvation of many with the loſs of their own ſouls; drowning, as it were, and overwhelming themſelves in the abun- Rom. ix. 3, dance of their love towards others, is propoſed as be- 8. x. 1. ing in regard of the rareneſs of ſuch affections ὑπερκαλὸν, more than excellent. But this extraordinary height of deſire after other men's ſalvation, is no common mark. The other is a duty which belongeth unto all, and prevaileth with God daily. For as it is in itſelf good, ſo God accepteth and taketh it in very good part at the hands of faithful men. Our prayers for all men do include both them that ſhall find mercy, and them alſo that ſhall find none. For them that ſhall, no man will doubt but our prayers are both accepted and granted. Touching them for whom we crave that mercy which is not to be obtained, let us not think that our Saviour did miſinſtruct his diſ- Matth. x. ciples, willing them to pray for the peace even of ſuch 11, 12. as ſhould be uncapable of ſo great a bleſſing; or that the prayers of the prophet Jeremy offended God, be- Jer. xv. 1. cauſe the anſwer of God was a reſolute denial of favour to them for whom ſupplication was made. And if any man doubt how God ſhould accept ſuch prayers in caſe they be oppoſite to his will, or not grant them if they be according unto that which himſelf willeth, our anſwer is, that ſuch ſuits God accepteth in that they are conformable unto his general inclination, which is that all men might be ſaved;

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yet always he granteth them not, for as much as there is in God ſometimes a more private occaſioned will which determineth the contrary. So that the other being the rule of our actions, and not this; our requeſts for things oppoſite to this will of God are not therefore the leſs gracious in his ſight. There is no doubt but we ought in all things to frame our wills to the will of God, and that otherwiſe in whatſoever we do we ſin. For of ourſelves, being ſo apt to err, the only way which we have to ſtrengthen our paths is by following the rule of his will, whoſe footſteps naturally are right. If the eye, the hand, or the foot, do that which the will commandeth, though they ſerve as inſtruments to ſin, yet is ſin the commander's fault and not theirs, becauſe nature hath abſolutely, and without exception, made them ſubjects to the will of man, which is Lord over them. As the body is ſubject to the will of man, ſo man's will to the will of God; for ſo it behoveth that the better ſhould guide and command the worſe. But becauſe the ſubjection of the body to the will is, by natural neceſſity, the ſubjection of the will unto God voluntary; we therefore ſtand in need of direction after what ſort our wills and deſires may be rightly conformed to his: which is not done, by willing always the ſelf-ſame thing that God intendeth. For it may chance, that his purpoſe is ſometime the ſpeedy death of them whoſe long continuance in life if we ſhould not wiſh we were unnatural. When the object or matter therefore of our deſires is (as in this caſe) a thing both good of itſelf, and not forbidden of God; when the end for which we deſire it is virtuous and apparently moſt holy; when the root from which our affection towards it proceedeth is charity; piety that which we do in declaring our deſire by prayer; yea, over and beſides all this, ſith we know, that to pray for all men living is but to ſhew the ſame affection which towards every of them our Lord Jeſus Chriſt hath

hath borne, who knowing only as God who are his [a], did as man taſte death for the good of all men; ſurely, to that will of God which ought to be, and is the known rule of all our actions, we do not herein oppoſe ourſelves, although his ſecret determination happily be againſt us; which if we did underſtand, as we do not, yet to reſt contented with that which God will have done, is as much as he requireth at the hands of men. And concerning ourſelves, what we earneſtly crave in this caſe, the ſame as all things elſe that are of like condition, we meekly ſubmit unto his moſt gracious will and pleaſure. Finally, as we have cauſe ſufficient why to think the practice of our Church allowable in this behalf, ſo neither is ours the firſt which hath been of that mind. For to end with the words of Proſper, *This law of ſupplication for all men* (ſaith he) *the devout zeal of all prieſts, and of all faithful men, doth hold with ſuch full agreement, that there is not any part of all the world, where Chriſtian people do not uſe to pray in the ſame manner. The Church every where maketh prayers unto God, not only for ſaints, and ſuch as already in Chriſt are regenerate; but for all Infidels and enemies of the Croſs of Jeſus Chriſt, for all Idolaters, for all that perſecute Chriſt in his followers, for Jews to whoſe blindneſs the light of the Goſpel doth not yet ſhine, for Heretics and Schiſmatics, who from the unity of faith and charity are eſtranged. And for ſuch, what doth the Church aſk of God but this, that, leaving their errors, they may be converted unto him, that faith and charity may be given them, and that out of the darkneſs of ignorance they may come to the knowledge of his truth? which becauſe they cannot themſelves do in*

Proſp. de Vocat. Gen. l. i. c. 12. in Biblioth. Patr. Lugd. tom. viii. p. 170.

[a] Propterea nihil contrarietatis erat, ſi Chriſtus homo ſecundum affectum pietatis quam in humanitate ſua aſſumpſerat aliquid volebat, quod tamen ſecundum voluntatem divinam, in qua cum Patre omnia diſponebat, futurum non eſſe præſciebat; quia et hoc ad veram humanitatem pertinebat, ut pietate moveretur, et hoc ad veram divinitatem, ut ea ſua diſpoſitione non moveretur. Hug. de Quat. Chriſti Voluntt.

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their own behalf, as long as the ſway of evil cuſtom overbeareth them, and the chains of Satan detain them bound: neither are they able to break through thoſe errors wherein they are ſo determinately ſettled, that they pay unto falſity the whole ſum of whatſoever love is owing unto God's truth, our Lord merciful and juſt requireth to have all men prayed for; that when we behold innumerable multitudes drawn up from the depth of ſo bottomleſs evils, we may not doubt, but (in part) God hath done the thing we requeſted; nor deſpair, but that being thankful for them, towards whom already he hath ſhewed mercy, the reſt which are not as yet enlightened, ſhall before they paſs out of life be made partakers of the like grace. Or if the grace of him which ſaveth (for ſo we ſee it falleth out) overpaſs ſome, ſo that the prayer of the Church for them be not received, this we may leave to the hidden judgments of God's righteouſneſs, and acknowledge that in this ſecret there is a gulf, which while we live we ſhall never ſound.

Of the name, the author, and the force of Sacraments; which force conſiſteth in this, that God hath ordained them as means to make us partakers of him in Chriſt, of life through Chriſt.

50. Inſtruction and prayer, whereof we have hitherto ſpoken, are duties which ſerve as elements, parts, or principles to the reſt that follow, in which number the Sacraments of the Church are chief. The Church is to us that very * mother of our new birth, in whoſe bowels we are all bred, at whoſe breaſts we receive nouriſhment. As many therefore as are apparently to our judgment born of God, they have the ſeed of their regeneration by the miniſtry of the Church, which uſeth to that end and purpoſe not only the word, but the Sacraments, both having generative force and virtue. As oft as we mention a Sacrament properly underſtood, (for in the writings of the ancient Fathers, all articles which are peculiar to Chriſtian Faith, all duties of Religion containing that which ſenſe or natural reaſon cannot of itſelf diſcern, are moſt commonly named Sacraments,) our reſtraint of the word to ſome few principal divine Ceremonies, importeth in every ſuch Ceremony two things; the ſubſtance of the Ceremony itſelf which is viſible,

* Gal. iv. 26. Jud. liv. 5.

viſible, and beſides that ſomewhat elſe more ſecret, in reference whereunto we conceive that Ceremony to be a Sacrament. For we all admire and honour the holy Sacraments, not reſpecting ſo much the ſervice which we do unto God in receiving them, as the dignity of that ſacred and ſecret gift which we thereby receive from God. Seeing that Sacraments therefore conſiſt altogether in relation to ſome ſuch gift or grace ſupernatural, as only God can beſtow, how ſhould any but the Church adminiſter thoſe Ceremonies as Sacraments, which are not thought to be Sacraments by any but by the Church? There is in Sacraments to be obſerved their force and their form of adminiſtration. Upon their force, their neceſſity dependeth. So that how they are neceſſary we cannot diſcern till we ſee how effectual they are. When Sacraments are ſaid to be viſible ſigns of inviſible grace, we thereby conceive how grace is indeed the very end for which theſe heavenly myſteries were inſtituted; and beſides ſundry other properties obſerved in them, the matter whereof they conſiſt is ſuch as ſignifieth, figureth, and repreſenteth their end. But ſtill their efficacy reſteth obſcure to our underſtanding, except we ſearch ſomewhat more diſtinctly what grace in particular that is whereunto they are referred, and what manner of operation they have towards it. The uſe of Sacraments is but only in this life, yet ſo, that here they concern a far better life than this, and are for that cauſe accompanied with grace which worketh Salvation. Sacraments are the powerful inſtruments of God to eternal life. For as our natural life conſiſteth in the union of the body with the ſoul, ſo our life ſupernatural in the union of the ſoul with God. And for as much as there is no union of God with man[a], without that mean between both, which is both; it ſeemeth requi-

[a] Oportebat Deum carnem fieri ut in ſemetipſo concordiam conſibularet terrenorum pariter atque cæleſtium, dum utriuſque partis in ſe connectens pignora, et Deum pariter Homini et Hominem Deo copularet. Tertul. de Trinit.

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site, that we first consider how God is in Christ, then how Christ is in us, and how the Sacraments do serve to make us partakers of Christ. In other things we may be more brief, but the weight of these requireth largeness.

That God is in Christ by the personal Incarnation of the Son, who is very God.

51. The Lord our God is but one God. In which indivisible Unity notwithstanding we adore the Father, as being altogether of himself; we glorify that consubstantial Word which is the Son; we bless and magnify that co-essential Spirit eternally proceeding from both, which is the Holy Ghost. Seeing therefore the Father is of none, the Son is of the Father, and the Spirit is of both, they are by these their several properties really distinguishable each from other. For the Substance of God, with this property to be of none, doth make the Person of the Father; the very self-same Substance in number with this property to be of the Father, maketh the Person of the Son; the same Substance having added unto it the property of proceeding from the other two, maketh the Person of the Holy Ghost. So that in every Person there is implied both the Substance of God, which is one; and also that property which causeth the same Person really and truly to differ from the other two. Every Person hath his own subsistence which no other Person hath [a], although there be others besides that are of the same Substance. As no man but Peter can be the person which Peter is, yet Paul hath the self-same nature which Peter hath. Again, Angels have every of them the nature of pure and invisible Spirits; but every Angel is not that Angel which appeared in a dream to Joseph. Now when God became Man, lest we should err in applying this to the Person of the

Isai ix. 6. Jer. xxiii. 6. Rom. ix. 5. John xvi. 15. and v. 21. Col. ii. 9. 1 John v. 20.

[a] Πρόσωπον, ἤγουν ὑπόστασις ἐστι κατὰ τὴν ἁγίαν πατέρας, τὸ ἰδικὸν παρὰ τὸ κοινόν. Κοινότης γάρ ἐστιν ἡ φύσις ἑκάστου πράγματος, ἰδιαι δέ εἰσιν αἱ ὑποστάσεις. Suid. Ἡ οὐσία δέ, καθ' ἑαυτὴν οὐχ ὑφίσταται, ἀλλ' ἐν ταῖς ὑποστάσεσι θεωρεῖται· τὸ δὲ κοινὸν μετὰ τοῦ ἰδιάζοντος ἔχει ἡ ὑπόστασις καὶ τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ὑπαρξαι. Damasc. de Orthod. Fide, lib. iii. cap 6.

Father

Father or of the Spirit, St. Peter's confeſſion unto Chriſt was, *Thou art the Son of the living God*; and St. John's expoſition thereof was plain, that it is the Word which was made Fleſh. [b] *The Father and the Holy Ghoſt* (ſaith Damaſcen) *have no communion with the Incarnation of the Word, otherwiſe than only by approbation and aſſent.* Notwithſtanding, for as much as the Word and Deity are one ſubject, we muſt beware we exclude not the Nature of God from Incarnation, and ſo make the Son of God incarnate not to be very God. For undoubtedly, [c] even the Nature of God itſelf in the only Perſon of the Son is incarnate, and hath taken to itſelf Fleſh. Wherefore, Incarnation may neither be granted to any Perſon but only one, nor yet denied to that Nature which is common unto all three. Concerning the cauſe of which incomprehenſible myſtery, for as much as it ſeemeth a thing unconſonant that the world ſhould honour any other as the Saviour, but him whom it honoureth as the Creator of the world, and in the wiſdom of God it hath not been thought convenient to admit any way of ſaving man but by man himſelf, though nothing ſhould be ſpoken of the love and mercy of God towards man, which this way are become ſuch a ſpectacle as neither men nor angels can behold without a kind of heavenly aſtoniſhment, we may hereby perceive there is cauſe ſufficient why Divine Nature ſhould aſſume human, that ſo God might be in Chriſt reconciling to himſelf the world. And if ſome cauſe be likewiſe required why rather to this end and purpoſe the Son than either the Father or the Holy Ghoſt ſhould be made man, could we which are born the

Matt. xvi. 16. John i. 14.

2 Cor. v. 19.

[a] Ignat. Epiſt. ad Magneſ. "Ος ἐστιν αὐτοῦ Λόγος ἀ ῥητὸς ἀλλ' ἀσιώδης. Οὐ γὰρ ἐστι λαλιᾶς ἐπάρθρε φώνημα, ἀλλ' ἐνεργείας θείης ἀσία γενητή.

[b] Κατ' ἀδίτα λόγον κεκοινώνηκεν ὁ Πατὴρ καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τῇ σαρκώσει τοῦ Λόγου, εἰ μὴ κατ' εὐδοκίαν καὶ βούλησιν. Damaſc.

[c] In illo Divinitas eſt Unigeniti facta particeps mortalitatis noſtræ, ut et nos participes ejus immortalitatis eſſemus. Aug. Epiſt. 57.

children

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children of wrath, be adopted the ſons of God, through grace, otherwiſe than the natural Son of God being Mediator between God and us? It became therefore him, by whom all things are, to be the way of ſalvation to all, that the inſtitution and reſtitution of the world might be both wrought by one hand. The world's ſalvation was without the Incarnation of the Son of God a thing impoſſible; not ſimply impoſſible, but impoſſible, it being preſuppoſed, that the will of God was no otherwiſe to have it ſaved than by the death of his own Son. Wherefore taking to himſelf our fleſh, and by his Incarnation making it his own fleſh, he had now of his own, although from us, what to offer unto God for us. And as Chriſt took manhood, that by it he might be capable of death, whereunto he humbled himſelf; ſo becauſe manhood is the proper ſubject of compaſſion and feeling pity, which maketh the ſceptre of Chriſt's regency even in the kingdom of Heaven be amiable, he which without our nature could not on earth ſuffer for the ſins of the world, doth now alſo, by means thereof, both make interceſſion to God for ſinners, and exerciſe dominion over all men with a true, a natural, and a ſenſible touch of mercy.

Heb. ii. 10

Heb. iv. 15.

The miſinterpretations which hereſy hath made of the manner, how God and man are united in one Chriſt.

52. It is not in man's ability either to expreſs perfectly, or conceive the manner how this was brought to paſs. But the ſtrength of our Faith is tried by thoſe things wherein our wits and capacities are not ſtrong. Howbeit, becauſe this divine myſtery is more true than plain, divers, having framed the ſame to their own conceits and fancies, are found in their expoſitions thereof more plain than true: in ſo much, that by the ſpace of five hundred years after Chriſt the Church was almoſt troubled with nothing elſe, ſaving only with care and travel to preſerve this article from the ſiniſter conſtruction of Heretics; whoſe firſt miſts when the light of the Nicene Council had diſpelled, it was not long ere Macedonius transferred unto God's moſt holy Spirit the ſame blaſphemy

An. Dom. 381.

blaſphemy wherewith Arius had already diſhonoured his co-eternal begotten Son; not long ere Apollinarius[a] began to pare away from Chriſt's humanity. In refutation of which impieties, when the Fathers of the Church, Athanaſius, Baſil, and the two Gregories, had by their painful travels ſufficiently cleared the truth, no leſs for the Deity of the Holy Ghoſt than for the complete humanity of Chriſt, there followed hereupon a final concluſion, whereby thoſe controverſies, as alſo the reſt which Paulus Samoſatenus, Sabellius, Photinus, Ætius, Eunomius, together with the whole ſwarm of peſtilent Demi-arians, had from time to time ſtirred up ſince the Council of Nice, were both privately, firſt at Rome in a ſmaller ſynod, and then at Conſtantinople in a general famous aſ- An. Dom. ſembly, brought to a peaceable and quiet end; ſeven- 381. ſcore Biſhops and ten agreeing in that Confeſſion, which, by them ſet down, remaineth at this preſent hour a part of our Church-Liturgy, a memorial of their fidelity and zeal, a ſovereign preſervative of God's people from the venomous infection of hereſy. Thus in Chriſt the verity of God, and the complete ſubſtance of man, were with full agreement eſtabliſhed throughout the world, till ſuch time as the hereſy of Neſtorius broached itſelf, [b] *dividing Chriſt into two Perſons, the Son of God, and the Son of man; the one a Perſon begotten of God before all worlds, the other alſo a Perſon born of the Virgin Mary, and in ſpecial favour choſen to be made entire to the Son of God above all men, ſo that whoſoever will honour God, muſt together honour Chriſt, with whoſe Perſon God hath vouchſafed to join himſelf in ſo high a degree of gracious reſpect*

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[a] Μηδὲ γὰρ διηθῆναι φησὶ τὴν σαρκὰ ἐκείνην ἀνθρωπίνου νοὸς ἡγεμονευομένην ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτὴν ἐνδιδυκότος θεοῦ. Suid.

[b] Οὐκ ἴστι τὴν ἕνωσιν ὁμολογεῖ μεθ' ἡμῶν. Cyril. Epiſt. ad Eulog. Οὐκ ἴλιγε γὰρ ἕνωσιν τοῦ Λόγου τοῦ Θεοῦ πρὸς Ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ δύο ὑποστάσεις ἴλιγε καὶ διαίρισιν. Εἰ δὲ καὶ Ἄνθρωπον καὶ Θεὸν ἀπικάλει τὸν Χριστὸν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔτι ὡς ἡμεῖς, ἀλλὰ τῇ σχέσει καὶ τῇ οἰκειώσει κατὰ τὸ ταῦτα ἀλλήλοις ἀρέσκειν διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς φιλίας. Leont. de Sect.

and

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and favour. But that the ſelf-ſame Perſon which verily is man, ſhould properly be God alſo, and that by reaſon not of two Perſons linked in amity, but of two Natures human and divine, conjoined in one and the ſame Perſon, the God of Glory may be ſaid as well to have ſuffered death as to have raiſed the dead from their graves; the Son of man as well to have made, as to have redeemed the world, Neſtorius in no caſe would admit. That which deceived him was want of heed to the firſt beginning of that admirable combination of God with man. *The Word* (ſaith St. John) *was made fleſh, and dwelt in us.* The Evangeliſt uſeth the plural number, men for manhood, *us* for the nature whereof we conſiſt, even as the Apoſtle, denying the aſſumption of Angelical nature, ſaith likewiſe in the plural number, he took not Angels, but the ſeed of Abraham. It pleaſed not the Word or Wiſdom of God, to take to itſelf ſome one perſon amongſt men, for then ſhould that one have been advanced which was aſſumed, and no more; but Wiſdom, to the end ſhe might ſave many, built her houſe of that nature which is common unto all; ſhe made not this or that man her habitation, but dwelt *in us.* The ſeeds of herbs and plants at the firſt are not in act, but in poſſibility that which they afterwards grow to be. If the Son of God had taken to himſelf a man now made and already perfected, it would of neceſſity follow that there are in Chriſt two Perſons, the one aſſuming and the other aſſumed; whereas the Son of God did not aſſume a man's perſon into his own, but a man's nature to his own Perſon; and therefore took ſemen, the ſeed of Abraham, the very firſt original element of our nature, before it was come to have any perſonal human ſubſiſtence. The fleſh and the conjunction of the fleſh with God began both at one inſtant[a]; his making and taking to himſelf our fleſh was

John i. 14.

Heb. ii. 16.

[a] Ἡ ληφθεῖσα φύσις οὐ προϋπῆρχε τῆς λήψεως. Theod. Dial. Ἀσύγ.

but

but one act, ſo that in Chriſt there is no perſonal ſubſiſtence but one, and that from everlaſting. By taking only the nature of man, he ſtill continueth one Perſon, and changeth but the manner of his ſubſiſting, which was before in the mere glory of the Son of God, and is now in the habit of our fleſh. For as much therefore as Chriſt hath no perſonal ſubſiſtence but one, whereby we acknowledge him to have been eternally the Son of God, we muſt of neceſſity apply to the Perſon of the Son of God, even that which is ſpoken of Chriſt according to his human nature. For example, according to the fleſh, he was born of the Virgin Mary, baptized of John in the river Jordan, by Pilate adjudged to die, and executed by the Jews. We cannot ſay properly, that the Virgin bore, or John did baptize, or Pilate condemn, or the Jews crucify the nature of man, becauſe theſe all are perſonal attributes; his Perſon is the ſubject which receiveth them, his nature that which maketh his Perſon capable or apt to receive. If we ſhould ſay, that the perſon of a man in our Saviour Chriſt was the ſubject of theſe things, this were plainly to intrap ourſelves in the very ſnare of the Neſtorians' hereſy, between whom and the Church of God there was no difference, ſaving only that Neſtorius imagined in Chriſt as well a perſonal human ſubſtance, as a divine; the Church acknowledging a ſubſtance both divine and human, but no other perſonal ſubſtance than divine, becauſe the Son of God took not to himſelf a man's perſon, but the nature only of a man. Chriſt is a Perſon both divine and human, howbeit not therefore two Perſons in one; neither both theſe in one ſenſe, but a Perſon divine, becauſe he is perſonally the Son of God, human, becauſe he hath really the nature of the children of men. In Chriſt therefore God and man, *There is* (ſaith Paſchaſius) *a twofold ſubſtance, not a twofold Perſon, becauſe one Perſon extinguiſheth another, whereas one nature cannot in another become extinct.* For the perſonal being which the Son of God already had, ſuffered

Paſch. lib. de Spir. Sanct.

BOOK V. ſuffered not the ſubſtance to be perſonal which he took, although together with the nature which he had, the nature alſo which he took, continueth. Whereupon it followeth againſt Neſtorius, that no perſon was born of the Virgin but the Son of God, no perſon but the Son of God baptized, the Son of God condemned, the Son of God and no other perſon crucified; which one only point of Chriſtian belief, *The infinite worth of the Son of God*, is the very ground of all things believed concerning life and ſalvation, by that which Chriſt either did or ſuffered as man in our behalf. But for as much as St. Cyril, the chiefeſt of thoſe two hundred Biſhops aſſembled in the An. Dom. 431. Council of Epheſus, where the hereſy of Neſtorius was condemned, had in his writings againſt the Arians avouched, that the Word or Wiſdom of God hath but one nature, which is eternal, and whereunto he aſſumed fleſh, (for the Arians were of opinion, that, beſides God's own eternal wiſdom, there is a Wiſdom which God created before all things, to the end he might thereby create all things elſe; and that this created Wiſdom was the Word which took fleſh:) again, for as much as the ſame Cyril had given inſtance in the body and the ſoul of man, no farther than only to enforce by example againſt Neſtorius, that a viſible and inviſible, a mortal and an immortal ſubſtance, may united make one perſon; the words of Cyril were in proceſs of time ſo taken, as though it had been his drift to teach, that even as in us the body and the ſoul, ſo in Chriſt God and man, An. Dom. 451. make but one nature. Of which error, ſix hundred and thirty Fathers in the Council of Chalcedon condemned Eutyches. For as Neſtorius teaching rightly, that God and man are diſtinct natures, did thereupon miſinfer, that in Chriſt thoſe natures can by no conjunction make one Perſon; ſo Eutyches, of ſound belief as touching their true perſonal copulation, became unſound, by denying the difference which ſtill continueth between the one and the other nature. We muſt

must therefore keep warily a middle course, shunning both that distraction of Persons, wherein Nestorius went awry; and also this later confusion of natures, which deceived Eutyches[a]. These natures from the moment of their first combination have been and are for ever inseparable. For even when his soul forsook the tabernacle of his body, his Deity forsook neither body nor soul. If it had, then could we not truly hold, either that the Person of Christ was buried, or that the Person of Christ did raise up himself from the dead. For the body separated from the word, can in no true sense be termed the Person of Christ; nor is it true to say, that the Son of God, in raising up that body, did raise up himself, if the body were not both with him, and of him, even during the time it lay in the sepulchre. The like is also to be said of the soul, otherwise we are plainly and inevitably Nestorians. The very Person of Christ therefore, for ever one and the self-same, was only, touching bodily substance, concluded within the grave, his soul only from thence severed; but by personal union his Deity still inseparably joined with both. BOOK V.

That by the union of the one with the other nature in Christ, there groweth neither gain nor loss of essential properties to either.

53. The sequel of which conjunction of natures in the Person of Christ is no abolishment of natural properties appertaining to either substance, no transition or transmigration thereof out of one substance into another, finally, no such mutual infusion, as really causeth the same natural operations or properties to be made common unto both substances; but whatsoever is natural to Deity, the same remaineth in Christ uncommunicated unto his manhood, and whatsoever natural to manhood, his Deity thereof is uncapable. The true properties and operations of his Deity are, to know that which is not possible for created natures to comprehend; to be simply the highest cause of all things, the Well-spring of immortality

[a] Ἀχάριστον προσήκει τῆς σαρκὸς εἶναι τὴν θείαν φύσιν ὁμολογεῖν, καὶ τῷ ταυτῷ καὶ τῷ τάφῳ. Theodor. Dial. Ἀπασθής.

and

BOOK V. and life; to have neither end nor beginning of days; to be every where preſent, and incloſed no where; to be ſubject to no alteration nor paſſion; to produce of itſelf thoſe effects which cannot proceed but from infinite Majeſty and Power. • The true properties and operations of his manhood are ſuch as Irenæus reckoneth up, [a] *If Chriſt* (ſaith he) *had not taken fleſh from the very earth, he would not have coveted thoſe earthly nouriſhments, wherewith bodies which be taken from thence are fed. This was the nature which felt hunger after long faſting, was deſirous of reſt after travel, teſtified compaſſion and love by tears, groaned in heavineſs, and with extremity of grief even melted away itſelf into bloody ſweats.* To Chriſt we aſcribe both working of wonders, and ſuffering of pains; we uſe concerning him ſpeeches as well of humility, as of divine glory; but the one we apply unto that nature which he took of the Virgin Mary, the other to that which was in the beginning. We may not therefore imagine, that the properties of the weaker nature have vaniſhed with the preſence of the more glorious, and have been therein ſwallowed up as in a gulf. We dare not in this point give ear to them who over-boldly affirm,

Greg. Nyſſ. Epiſt. ad Theophil. Alexandr. *That the nature which Chriſt took weak and feeble from us, by being mingled with Deity, became the ſame which Deity is; that the aſſumption of our ſubſtance unto his, was like the blending of a drop of vinegar with the huge ocean, wherein although it continue ſtill, yet not with thoſe properties which ſevered it hath; becauſe ſithence the inſtant of their conjunction, all diſtinction and difference of the one from the other is extinct, and whatſoever we can now conceive of the Son of God is nothing elſe but mere Deity:* which words are ſo plain and direct for

[a] Ταῦτα πάντα σύμβολα σαρκὸς τῆς ἀπὸ γῆς εἰλημμένης. Iren. l. iii. adverſ. Hæreſ. Chriſt did all theſe ἀνθρωπίνῳ σώματι νόμῳ. Greg. Nazian. Orat. ii. de Filio. Τὰς μὲν ταπεινὰς λόγους τῷ ἐκ Μαρίας ἀνθρώπῳ, τὰς δὲ ὑπηγμένας καὶ θεοπρεπεῖς τῷ ἐν ἀρχῇ ὄντι λόγῳ. Theod. Dial. Ἀσύγχυτον.

Eutyches,

Eutyches, that I ſtand in doubt, they are not his whoſe name they carry. Sure I am they are far from truth, and muſt of neceſſity give place to the better adviſed ſentences of other men. *He which in himſelf was appointed* (ſaith Hilary) *a Mediator to ſave his Church, and, for performance of that myſtery of mediation between God and man, is become God and man, doth now, being but one, conſiſt of both thoſe natures united, neither hath he, through the union of both, incurred the damage or loſs of either; leſt, by being born a man, we ſhould think he hath given over to be God; or, that, becauſe he continued God, therefore he cannot be man alſo; whereas the true belief which maketh a man happy, proclaimeth jointly God and man, confeſſeth the Word and fleſh together.* Cyril more plainly, *His two natures have knit themſelves the one to the other, and are in that nearneſs, as uncapable of confuſion, as of diſtraction. Their coherence hath not taken away the difference between them, fleſh is not become God, but doth ſtill continue fleſh, although it be now the fleſh of God. Yea, of each ſubſtance* (ſaith [a] Leo) *the properties are all preſerved and kept ſafe.* Theſe two natures are as cauſes and original grounds of all things which Chriſt hath done. Wherefore ſome things he doth as God, becauſe his Deity alone is the well-ſpring from which they flow; ſome things as man, becauſe they iſſue from his mere human nature; ſome things jointly as both God and man, becauſe both natures concur as principles thereunto. For albeit the properties of each nature do cleave only to that nature whereof they are properties, and therefore Chriſt cannot naturally be as God the ſame which he naturally is as man; yet both natures may very well concur unto one effect, and Chriſt in that reſpect be truly ſaid to work both as God and man one and the ſelf-ſame thing. Let us therefore ſet it down for a rule or principle ſo neceſſary, as nothing more, to the plain

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Hilar. Epiſcop. de Trinit. lib. ix. p. 189. Oper. ed. Par.

Cyr. Epiſt. ad Neſt. p. 67. par. ii. tom. 5. Op. ed. Par.

[a] Salva proprietate utriuſque naturæ, ſuſcepta eſt a Majeſtate humilitas, a virtute infirmitas, ab æternitate mortalitas. Leo. Epiſt. ad Flav.

BOOK V. deciding of all doubts and queſtions about the union of natures in Chriſt, that of both natures there is a co-operation often, an aſſociation always, but never any mutual participation whereby the properties of the one are infuſed into the other. Which rule muſt ſerve for the better underſtanding of that which [a] Damaſcene hath touching croſs and circulatory ſpeeches, wherein there are attributed to God ſuch things as belong to manhood, and to man ſuch as properly concern the Deity of Chriſt Jeſus, the cauſe whereof is the aſſociation of natures in one ſubject. A kind of mutual commutation there is, whereby theſe concrete names, God and man, when we ſpeak of Chriſt, do take interchangeably one another's room, ſo that for truth of ſpeech, it ſkilleth not whether we ſay, that the Son of God hath created the world, and the Son of man by his death hath ſaved it; or elſe, that the Son of man did create, and the Son of God die to ſave the world. Howbeit, as oft as we attribute to God what the manhood of Chriſt claimeth, or to man what his Deity hath right unto, we underſtand by the name of God, and the name of man, neither the one nor the other nature, but the whole Perſon of Chriſt, in whom both natures are. When the Apoſtle ſaith of the Jews, that they crucified the Lord of Glory, and when the Son of man, being on earth, affirmeth, that the Son of man was in heaven at the ſame inſtant; there is in theſe two ſpeeches that mutual circulation before mentioned. In the one, there is attributed to
1 Cor. ii. 8. God, or the Lord of Glory, death, whereof Divine nature is not capable; in the other ubiquity unto

[a] Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τρόπος· τῆς ἀντιδόσεως ἑκατέρας φύσεως τὴ ἑτέρᾳ τῶν ἰδίων, διὰ τὴν τῆς ὑποστάσεως ταυτότητα, καὶ τὴν εἰς ἄλληλα αὐτῶν περιχώρησιν. Damaſc. de Orthod. Fid. l. iii. c. 4. Verum eſt duarum in Chriſto naturarum alteram ſuas alteri proprietates impertire, enunciando videlicèt, idque non in abſtracto ſed in concreto ſolum, divinas homini non humanitati, humanas non deitati ſed Deo tribui. Cujus hæc eſt ratio; quia, cum ſuppoſitum prædicationis ſit ejuſmodi ut utramque naturam in ſe contineat, ſive ab una ſive ab altera denominetur, nihil refert.

man,

man, which human nature admitteth not. Therefore by the Lord of Glory, we must needs understand the whole Person of Christ, who being Lord of Glory, was indeed crucified, but not in that nature for which he is termed the Lord of Glory. In like manner, by the Son of man, the whole Person of Christ must necessarily be meant, who being man upon earth, filled heaven with his glorious presence, but not according to that nature for which the title of man is given him. Without this caution, the Fathers, whose belief was sincere, and their meaning most sound, shall seem in their writings, one to deny what another constantly doth affirm. Theodoret disputeth, with great earnestness, that God cannot be said to suffer. But he thereby meaneth Christ's Divine nature against [a] Apollinarius, which held even Deity itself passible. Cyril on the other side against Nestorius as much contendeth, that whosoever will deny very God to have suffered death, doth forsake the faith. Which notwithstanding to hold, were heresy, if the name of God in this assertion did not import, as it doth, the Person of Christ, who being verily God, suffered death, but in the flesh, and not in that substance for which the name of God is given him.

John iii. 13.

Apollinar. Epist. ad Flav.

54. If then both natures do remain with their properties in Christ thus distinct, as hath been shewed, we are, for our better understanding what either nature receiveth from other, to note, that Christ is by three degrees a receiver; first, in that he is the Son of God: secondly, in that his human nature hath had the honour of union with Deity bestowed upon it: thirdly, in that by means thereof sundry eminent graces have flowed as effects from Deity into that nature which is coupled with it. On Christ therefore is bestowed the gift of eternal generation, the gift of union, and the gift of unction. By

What Christ hath obtained according to the flesh, by the union of his flesh with Deity.

[a] Θνητὴν τῷ Υἱῷ κατασκευάζει τὴν θεότητα. Greg. Nyss. de Sectator.

BOOK V. the gift of eternal generation, Chriſt hath received of the Father one, and in number the [a] ſelf-ſame ſubſtance, which the Father hath of himſelf unreceived from any other. For every [b] beginning is a father unto that which cometh of it, and every offspring is a ſon unto that out of which it groweth. Seeing therefore the Father alone is [c] originally that Deity which Chriſt [d] originally is not, (for Chriſt is God [e] by being of God; light [f] by iſſuing out of light;) it followeth hereupon, that whatſoever Chriſt hath [g] common unto him with his heavenly Father, the ſame of neceſſity muſt be given him, but naturally and [h] eternally given; not beſtowed

[a] Nativitas Dei non poteſt non eam ex qua profecta eſt tenere naturam. Neque enim aliud quam Deus ſubſiſtit qui non aliunde quam ex Deo Deus ſubſiſtit. Hilar. de Trin. lib. v. Cum ſit gloria, ſempiternitate, virtute, regno, poteſtate, hoc quod Pater eſt, omnia tamen hæc non ſine auctore ſicut Pater, ſed ex Patre tanquam Filius ſine initio et æqualis habet. Ruffin in Symb. Apoſt. cap. 9. Filium aliunde non deduco, ſed de ſubſtantia Patris omnem a Patre conſecutum poteſtatem. Tertul. contra Prax.

[b] Epheſ. iii. 15. πᾶσα πατρία, quicquid alteri quovis modo dat eſſe.

[c] Jac. i. 17. Pater luminum, Υἱῷ τε καὶ Πνεύματος ἁγιότητι. Pachym. in Dionyſ. de Cœl. Hierar. cap. 1. Pater eſt principium totius divinitatis, quia ipſe a nullo eſt. Non enim habet de quo procedat, ſed ab eo et Filius eſt genitus et Spiritus Sanctus procedit. Aug. de Trinit. lib. iv. cap. 40. Hinc Chriſtus deitatis loco nomen ubique Patris uſurpat, quia Pater nimirum eſt πηγαῖα θειότητος.

[d] Pater tota ſubſtantia eſt, Filius vero derivatio totius et propagatio. Tertul. contra Prax.

[e] Quod enim Deus eſt, ex Deo eſt. Hilar. de Trin. lib. v. Nihil niſi natum habet Filius. Hilar. lib. iv.

[f] Ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης. Heb. i. 3. Ἐστὶν ἀπόῤῥοια τῆς τοῦ παντοκράτορος δόξης εἰλικρινής—ἀπαύγασμα—φῶς τὸ ἀΐδιον. Wiſd. vii. 25, 26.

[g] Nihil in ſe diverſum ac diſſimile habent natus et generans. Hilar. de Synod. adverſ. Aria. In Trinitate alius atque alius, non aliud atque aliud. Vincent. Lyr. cap. 19.

[h] Ubi author æternus eſt, ibi et nativitatis æternitas eſt: quia ſicut nativitas ab authore eſt, ita et ab æterno authore æterna nativitas eſt. Hilar. de Trin. lib. xii. Sicut naturam præſtat Filio ſine initio Generatio; ita Spiritus Sancti præſtat eſſentiam ſine initio Proceſſio. Aug. de Trin. lib. v. cap. 15.

by

by way of benevolence and favour, as the other gifts both are. And therefore [a] where the Fathers give it out for a rule, that whatſoever Chriſt is ſaid in Scripture to have received, the ſame we ought to apply only to the manhood of Chriſt; their aſſertion is true of all things which Chriſt hath received by grace; but to that which he hath received of the Father, by eternal nativity or birth it reacheth not. Touching union of Deity with manhood, it is by grace, becauſe there can be no greater grace ſhewed towards men, than that God ſhould vouchſafe to unite to man's nature the Perſon of his only begotten Son. Becauſe *the Father loveth the Son* as man, he hath, by uniting Deity with manhood, *given all things into his hands*. It hath pleaſed the Father, that in him *all fulneſs ſhould dwell*. The *name* which he hath *above all names* is given him. *As the Father hath life in himſelf*, the *Son in himſelf hath life alſo* by the gift of the Father. The gift whereby God hath made Chriſt a Fountain of life, is, that *conjunction of the nature of God with the nature of man*, in the Perſon of Chriſt, which gift (ſaith Chriſt to the woman of Samaria) if thou didſt know, and in that reſpect underſtand who it is which aſketh water of thee, thou wouldeſt aſk of him, that he might give thee living water. The union therefore of the fleſh with Deity, is to that fleſh a gift of principal grace and favour. For by virtue of this grace, man is really made God, a creature is exalted above the dignity of all creatures, and hath all creatures elſe under it. This admirable union of God with man can enforce in that higher nature no alteration, becauſe unto God there is nothing more natural than not to be ſubject

BOOK V.

John iii. 35. Col. i. 19. Phil. ii. 9. John v. 26. Hic eſt verus Deus, et vita æterna. 1 John v. 20. John iv. 10.

[a] Ὅσα λέγει ἡ γραφὴ ὅτι ἔλαβεν ὁ Υἱὸς καὶ ἐδοξάσθη, διὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα αὐτῷ λέγω, ἃ τὴν θεότητα. Theod. fol. 42. et ex Greg. Nazian. Orat. ii. de Fol. ibid. 44.

BOOK V. to any [a] change. Neither is it a thing impoſſible, that the Word being made fleſh, ſhould be that which it was not before as touching the manner of ſubſiſtence, and yet continue in all qualities or properties of nature the ſame it was, becauſe the Incarnation of the Son of God conſiſteth merely in the union of natures, which union doth add perfection to the weaker, to the nobler no [b] alteration at all. If therefore it be demanded what the Perſon of the Son of God hath attained by aſſuming manhood; ſurely, the whole ſum of all is this, to be as we are, truly, really, and naturally man, by means whereof he is made capable of meaner offices than otherwiſe his Perſon could have admitted, the only gain he thereby purchaſed for himſelf was to be capable of loſs and detriment for the good of others. But may it rightly be ſaid concerning the Incarnation of Jeſus Chriſt, that as our nature hath in no reſpect changed his, ſo from his to ours as little alteration hath enſued? The very cauſe of his taking upon him our nature was to change it, to better the quality, and to advance the condition thereof, although in no ſort to aboliſh the ſubſtance which he took; nor to infuſe into it the natural forces and properties of his Deity. As therefore we have ſhewed how the Son of God by his Incarnation hath changed the manner of that perſonal ſubſiſtence which before was ſolitary, and is now in the aſſociation of fleſh, no alteration thereby accruing to the nature of God; ſo neither are the properties of man's nature in the Perſon of Chriſt, by force and virtue of the ſame conjunction,

[a] Ὥσπερ τῶν ἀνθρώπων κοινόν ἐστι τὸ θνητὸν, οὕτω τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος κοινὸν τὸ ἄτρεπτόν τε καὶ ἀναλλοίωτον. Theo. Dial. Ἀτρεπτ.

[b] Periculum ſtatus ſui Deo nullum eſt. Tertul. de Car. Chr. Majeſtati Filii Dei corporea Nativitas nihil contulit, nihil abſtulit. Leo de Nativit. Ser. viii. Μένει ὃ ἦν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, Θεὸς μένει καὶ τὴν ἡμῶν ἐν ἑαυτῷ παρασκευάζων ὕπαρξιν. Theophil. In formam ſervi tranſiſſe non eſt naturam perdidiſſe Dei. Hilar. de Trin. lib. xii.

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so much altered as not to stay within those limits which our substance is bordered withal; nor the state and quality of our substance so unaltered, but that there are in it many glorious effects proceeding from so near copulation with Deity. God from us can receive nothing; we by him have obtained much. For albeit the natural properties of Deity be not communicable to man's nature, the supernatural gifts, graces, and effects thereof are. The honour which our flesh hath by being the flesh of the Son of God is in many respects great. If we respect but that which is common unto us with him, the glory provided for him and his, in the kingdom of heaven, his right and title thereunto, even in that he is man, differeth from other men's, because he is that man of whom God is himself a part. We have right to the same inheritance with Christ, but not the same right which he hath; his being such as we cannot reach, and ours such as he cannot stoop unto. Furthermore, to be the Way, the Truth, and the Life; to be the Wisdom, Righteousness, Sanctification, Resurrection; to be the Peace of the whole world, the Hope of the righteous, the Heir of all things; to be that Supreme Head whereunto all power, both in heaven and in earth, is given—these are not honours common unto Christ with other men; they are titles above the dignity and worth of any which were but a mere man, yet true of Christ, even in that he is man, but man with whom Deity is personally joined, and unto whom it hath added those excellencies which make him more than worthy thereof. Finally, sith God hath deified our nature, though not by turning it into himself, yet by making it his own inseparable habitation, we cannot now conceive how God should, without man, either [a] exercise divine power, or receive the glory

BOOK V.

[a] Μετέχει ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη τῆς θείας ἐνεργείας. Theod.

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of divine praiſe. For man is in[a] both an aſſociate of Deity. But to come to the grace of unction; did the parts of our nature, the ſoul and body of Chriſt, receive, by the influence of Deity wherewith they were matched, no ability of operations, no virtue, or quality above nature? Surely, as the ſword which is made fiery doth not only cut by reaſon of the ſharpneſs which ſimply it hath, but alſo burn by means of that heat which it hath from fire, ſo, there is no doubt but the Deity of Chriſt hath enabled that nature which it took of man, to do more than man in this world hath power to comprehend; foraſmuch as (the bare eſſential properties of Deity excepted) he hath imparted unto it all things, he hath repleniſhed it with all ſuch perfections as the ſame is any way apt to receive, at the leaſt, according to the exigence of that œconomy or ſervice for which it pleaſed him in love and mercy to be made man. For, as the parts, degrees, and offices of that myſtical adminiſtration did require which he voluntarily undertook, the beams of Deity did in operation always accordingly either reſtrain[b] or enlarge themſelves. From hence we may ſomewhat conjecture how the powers of that ſoul are illuminated, which being ſo inward unto God, cannot chooſe but be privy unto all things which God worketh, and muſt therefore of neceſſity be endued with knowledge ſo far forth univerſal, though not with infinite knowledge peculiar to Deity itſelf. The ſoul of Chriſt, that ſaw in this life the face of God,

Luke ii. 47.

Matt. xxvii. 46.

Col. ii. 3.

[a] Ἡ δι᾽ἣν τὸ Θεῖον ἡ ποιητικὴ τῶν ὄντων τῶν πάντων, ἥτις ἐστὶν ὁ Κύριος, δι᾽ ὃν τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, αὕτη τὸν ἐνωθέντα σφῷ αὐτὴν ἄνθρωπον εἰς τὸ ἴδιον ἀνήγαγεν ὕψος διὰ τῆς ἑνώσεως. Gregor. Nyſſ. apud Theod. Ἀπὸ τῆς φύσεως τῆς σῆς λαβὼν ἀπαρχὴν ἐκαθάρισεν ἑαυτὸν πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας. Chryſ. in Pſal. xli.

[b] Ἡσυχάζοντος μὲν τοῦ Λόγου ἐν τῷ πειράζεσθαι καὶ γαυροῦσθαι καὶ ἀποθνήσκειν, συγγινομένου δὲ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐν τῷ νικᾶν καὶ ὑπομένειν καὶ χρηζεύεσθαι καὶ ἀνίστασθαι καὶ ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι. Theod. et Iren. lib. iii. adverſ. Hæreſ.

was

was here, through so visible presence of Deity, filled with all manner of graces and virtues in that unmatchable degree of perfection, for which, of him we read it written, *That God with the oil of gladness anointed him above his fellows.* And as God hath in Christ unspeakably glorified the nobler, so likewise the meaner part of our nature, the very bodily substance of man. Where also that must again be remembered which we noted before, concerning the degrees of the influence of Deity proportionable unto his own purposes, intents, and counsels. For in this respect his body, which by natural condition was corruptible, wanted the gift of everlasting immunity from death, passion, and dissolution, till God, which gave it to be slain for sin, had for righteousness' sake restored it to life, with certainty of endless continuance. Yea, in this respect, the very glorified body of Christ retained in it the scars and marks of former mortality. But shall we say, that in heaven his glorious body, by virtue of the same cause, hath now power to present itself in all places, and to be every where at once present? We nothing doubt, but God hath, many ways above the reach of our capacities, exalted that body which it hath pleased him to make his own, that body wherewith he hath saved the world, that body which hath been and is the root of eternal life; the instrument wherewith Deity worketh, the sacrifice which taketh away sin, the price which hath ransomed souls from death, the leader of the whole army of bodies that shall rise again. For though it had a beginning from us, yet God hath given it vital efficacy. Heaven hath endowed it with celestial power, that virtue it hath from above, in regard whereof all the Angels of Heaven adore it [a]. Notwithstanding a body still it continueth, a body consubstantial with our bodies, a

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Isai. xi. 2. Isai. lxi. 1. Luke iv. 18. Acts iv. 27. Heb. i. 9. 2 Cor. i. 21. 1 John ii. 20, 27.

Joh. xx. 27.

[a] Μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἀθάνατον μὲν ἐστὶ καὶ ἄφθαρτον καὶ θείας δόξης μετὸν, σῶμα δὲ ὅμως τὴν οἰκείαν ἔχον περιγραφήν. Theod. fol. 80.

body

BOOK V. body of the ſame both nature and meaſure which it had on earth. To gather therefore into one ſum all that hitherto hath been ſpoken touching this point, there are but four things which concur to make complete the whole ſtate of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, his Deity, his manhood, the conjunction of both, and the diſtinction of the one from the other being joined in one. Four principal hereſies there are which have in thoſe things withſtood the truth; Arians, by bending themſelves againſt the Deity of Chriſt; Apollinarians, by maiming and miſinterpreting that which belongeth to his human nature; Neſtorians, by renting Chriſt aſunder, and dividing him into two Perſons; the followers of Eutyches, by confounding in his Perſon thoſe natures which they ſhould diſtinguiſh. Againſt theſe there have been four moſt famous ancient General Councils; the Council of Nice, to define againſt Arians; againſt Apollinarians, the Council of Conſtantinople; the Council of Epheſus againſt Neſtorians; againſt Eutychians, the Chalcedon Council. In four words, ἀληθῶς, τελέως, ἀδιαιρέτως, ἀσυγχύτως, *truly*, *perfectly*, *indiviſibly*, *diſtinctly*; the firſt, applied to his being God; and the ſecond, to his being man; the third, to his being of both One; and the fourth, to his ſtill continuing in that One both; we may fully, by way of abridgment, compriſe whatſoever antiquity hath at large handled, either in declaration of Chriſtian belief, or in refutation of the aforeſaid hereſies. Within the compaſs of which four heads, I may truly affirm, that all hereſies which touch but the Perſon of Jeſus Chriſt (whether they have riſen in theſe latter days, or in any age heretofore) may be, with great facility, brought to confine themſelves. We conclude therefore, that to ſave the world it was of neceſſity the Son of God ſhould be thus incarnate, and that God ſhould ſo be in Chriſt, as hath been declared.

55. Having

55. Having thus far proceeded in ſpeech concerning the Perſon of Jeſus Chriſt, his two Natures, their conjunction, that which he either is or doth in reſpect of both, and that which the one receiveth from the other; ſith God in Chriſt is, generally, the medicine which doth cure the world, and Chriſt in us is that receipt of the ſame medicine whereby we are every one particularly cured: inaſmuch as Chriſt's incarnation and paſſion can be available to no man's good which is not made partaker of Chriſt, neither can we participate him without his preſence, we are briefly to conſider how Chriſt is preſent, to the end it may thereby better appear how we are made partakers of Chriſt, both otherwiſe, and in the Sacraments themſelves. All things are in ſuch ſort divided into finite and infinite, that no one ſubſtance, nature, or quality, can be poſſibly capable of both. The world and all things in the world are ſtinted, all effects that proceed from them, all the powers and abilities whereby they work; whatſoever they do whatſoever they may, and whatſoever they are, is limited. Which limitation of each creature is both the perfection and alſo the preſervation thereof. Meaſure is that which perfecteth all things, becauſe every thing is for ſome end; neither can that thing be available to any end which is not proportionable thereunto, and to proportion as well exceſſes as defects are oppoſite. Again, foraſmuch as nothing doth periſh but only through exceſs or defect of that, the due proportioned meaſure whereof doth give perfection, it followeth, that meaſure is likewiſe the preſervation of all things. Out of which premiſes we may conclude, not only that nothing created can poſſibly be unlimited, or can receive any ſuch accident, quality, or property as may really make it infinite, (for then ſhould it ceaſe to be a creature,) but alſo, that every creature's limitation is according to his own kind; and therefore as oft as we note in them any thing above their kind, it argueth, that the ſame is not properly

Of the perſonal preſence of Chriſt every where, and in what ſenſe it may be granted, he is every where preſent according to the fleſh.

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properly theirs, but groweth in them from a cauſe more powerful than they are. Such as the ſubſtance of each thing is, ſuch is alſo the preſence thereof. Impoſſible it is, that God ſhould withdraw his preſence from any thing, becauſe the very ſubſtance of God is infinite. He filleth heaven and earth, although he take up no room in either, becauſe his ſubſtance is immaterial, pure, and of us in this world ſo incomprehenſible, that albeit no part of us [a] be ever abſent from him who is preſent whole unto every particular thing, yet his preſence with us we no way diſcern further than only that God is preſent; which partly by reaſon, and more perfectly by faith, we know to be firm and certain. Seeing therefore that preſence every where is the ſequel of an infinite and incomprehenſible ſubſtance, (for what can be every where, but that which can no where be comprehended?) to enquire, whether Chriſt be every where, is to enquire of a natural property, a property that cleaveth to the Deity of Chriſt. Which Deity being common unto him with none but only the Father and the Holy Ghoſt, it followeth, that nothing of Chriſt which is limited, that nothing created, that neither the ſoul nor the body of Chriſt, and conſequently, not Chriſt as man, or Chriſt according to his human nature, can poſſibly be every where preſent, becauſe thoſe phraſes of limitation and reſtraint do either point out the principal ſubject whereunto every ſuch attribute adhereth, or elſe they intimate the radical cauſe out of which it groweth. For example, when we ſay that Chriſt as man, or according to his human nature, ſuffered death, we ſhew what nature was the proper ſubject of mortality; when we ſay, that as God, or according to

Pſ. cxxxix. 7, 8. Jer. xxiii. 24.

[a] Ideo Deus ubique eſſe dicitur, quia nulli parti rerum abſens eſt; ideo totus, quia non parti rerum partem ſui præſentem præbet, et alteri parti alteram partem, ſed non ſolum univerſitati creaturæ, verum etiam cuilibet parti ejus totus pariter adeſt. Aug. Epiſt. lvii.

his

his Deity, he conquered death, we declare his Deity to have been the cauſe by force and virtue whereof he raiſed himſelf from the grave. But neither is the manhood of Chriſt that ſubject whereunto univerſal preſence agreeth, neither is it the cauſe original by force whereof his Perſon is enabled to be every where preſent. Wherefore Chriſt is eſſentially preſent with all things in that he is very God, but not preſent with all things as man, becauſe manhood and the parts thereof can neither be the cauſe nor the true ſubject of ſuch preſence. Notwithſtanding, ſomewhat more plainly to ſhew a true immediate reaſon wherefore the manhood of Chriſt can neither be every where preſent, nor cauſe the Perſon of Chriſt ſo to be; we acknowledge that of St. Auguſtine concerning Chriſt moſt true, [a] *In that he is perſonally the Word, he created all things; in that he is naturally man, he himſelf is created of God*; and it doth not appear that any one creature hath power to be preſent with all creatures. Whereupon nevertheleſs it will not follow, that Chriſt cannot therefore be thus preſent becauſe he is himſelf a creature; foraſmuch as only infinite preſence is that which cannot poſſibly ſtand with the eſſence or being of any creature: as for preſence with all things that are, ſith the whole race, maſs, and body of them is finite, Chriſt by being a creature is not in that reſpect excluded from poſſibility of preſence with them. That which excludeth him therefore, as man, from ſo great largeneſs of preſence, is only his being man, a creature of this particular kind whereunto the God of nature hath ſet thoſe bounds of reſtraint and limitation, beyond which to attribute unto it any thing more than

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Aug. Ep. 187. p. 680. tom. ii. ed. Par.

[a] Quod ad Verbum attinet, Creator eſt;—quod ad hominem, creatura eſt. Deus qui ſemper eſt, et ſemper erat, fit creatura. Leo de Nativ. Multi timore trepidant ne Chriſtum eſſe creaturam dicere compellantur; nos proclamamus non eſſe periculum dicere, Chriſtum eſſe creaturam. Hier. in Epiſt. ad Eph. ii.

a creature

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a creature of that ſort can admit, were to give it another nature, to make it a creature of ſome other kind than in truth it is. Furthermore, if Chriſt, in that he is man, be every where preſent, ſeeing this cometh not by the nature of manhood itſelf, there is no other way how it ſhould grow, but either by the grace of union with Deity, or by the grace of unction received from Deity. It hath been already ſufficiently proved, that by force of union the properties of both natures are imparted to the perſon only in whom they are, and not what belongeth to the one nature, really conveyed or tranſlated into the other: it hath been likewiſe proved, that natures united in Chriſt continue the very ſame which they are where they are not united. And concerning the grace of unction, wherein are contained the gifts and virtues which Chriſt as man hath above men, they make him really and habitually a man more excellent than we are; they take not from him the nature and ſubſtance that we have; they cauſe not his ſoul nor body to be of another kind than ours is. Supernatural endowments are an advancement, they are no extinguiſhment of that nature whereto they are given. The ſubſtance of the body of Chriſt hath no preſence, neither can have, but only local. It was not therefore every where ſeen, nor did it every where ſuffer death, every where it could not be entombed, it is not every where now, being exalted into heaven. There is no proof in the world ſtrong to enforce that Chriſt had a true body, but by the true and natural properties of his body. Amongſt which properties, definite or local preſence is chief: *How is it true of Chriſt* (ſaith Tertullian) *that he died, was buried, and roſe again, if Chriſt had not that very fleſh, the nature whereof is capable of theſe things, fleſh mingled with blood, ſupported with bones, woven with ſinews, embroidered with veins?* If his majeſtical body have now any ſuch new property, by force whereof it may every where really even in ſubſtance preſent itſelf, or may at once be in many places;

Tertul. de Car. Chr. cap. v. p. 310. C. ed. Par.

places; then hath the majesty of his estate extinguished the verity of his nature. *Make thou no doubt or question of it* (saith St. Augustine) *but that the man Christ Jesus is now in that very place from whence he shall come in the same form and substance of flesh which he carried thither, and from thence he hath not taken nature, but given thereunto immortality. According to this form he spreadeth not out himself into all places. For it behoveth us to take great heed, lest, while we go about to maintain the glorious Deity of him which is man, we leave him not the true bodily substance of a man.* According to St. Augustine's opinion therefore, that majestical body, which we make to be every where present, doth thereby cease to have the substance of a true body. To conclude, we hold it in regard of the foresalleged proofs, a most infallible truth, that Christ, as man, is not every where present. There are which think it as infallibly true, that Christ is every where present as man, which peradventure in some sense may be well enough granted. His human substance in itself is naturally absent from the earth, his soul and body not on earth, but in heaven only; yet because this substance is inseparably joined to that personal Word, which by his very divine essence is present with all things; the nature which cannot have in itself universal presence, hath it after a sort, by being no where severed from that which every where is present. For in as much as that infinite Word is not divisible into parts, it could not in part, but must needs be wholly incarnate; and consequently whersoever the Word is, it hath with it manhood, else should the Word be in part, or somewhere God only and not man, which is impossible. For the Person of Christ is whole, perfect God and perfect man, whersoever; although the parts of his manhood being finite, and his Deity infinite, we cannot say that the whole of Christ is simply every where, as we may say that his Deity is, and that his Person is by force of Deity. For, somewhat of the Person of Christ is not every where in that sort; namely his manhood,

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Aug. Epist. 187. cap. iii. p. 681. tom. ii. ed. Par.

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manhood, the only conjunction whereof with Deity is extended as far as Deity, the actual position reſtrained and tied to a certain place; yet preſence by way of conjunction is in ſome ſort preſence. Again, as the manhood of Chriſt may after a ſort be every where ſaid to be preſent, becauſe that Perſon is every where preſent, from whoſe divine ſubſtance manhood is no where ſevered; ſo the ſame univerſality of preſence may likewiſe ſeem in another reſpect appliable thereunto, namely, by co-operation with Deity, and that in all things. The light created of God in the beginning did firſt by itſelf illuminate the world; but after that the ſun and moon were created, the world ſithence hath by them always enjoyed the ſame. And that Deity of Chriſt, which before our Lord's incarnation wrought all things without man, doth now work nothing wherein the nature which it hath aſſumed is either abſent from it or idle. Chriſt, as man, hath all power both in heaven and earth given him. He hath as man, not as God only, ſupreme dominion over quick and dead; for ſo much his aſcenſion into heaven and his ſeſſion at the right hand of God do import. The Son of God, which did firſt humble himſelf by taking our fleſh upon him, deſcended afterwards much lower, and became according to the fleſh obedient ſo far as to ſuffer death, even the death of the Croſs, for all men, becauſe ſuch was his Father's will. The former was an humiliation of Deity, the latter an humiliation of manhood; for which cauſe there followed upon the latter an exaltation of that which was humbled: for with power he created the world, but reſtored it by obedience. In which obedience, as according to his manhood he had glorified God on earth; ſo God hath glorified in heaven that nature which yielded him obedience; and hath given unto Chriſt, even in that he is man, ſuch fulneſs of power over the whole world, that he which before fulfilled in the ſtate of humility and patience whatſoever God did require, doth now reign in glory till the time that all things be reſtored. He which came down

Matth. xxviii. 8.

Rom. xiv. 9.

Phil. ii. 8, 9.

Heb. ii. 9.

Revel. v. 12.

Luke xxi. 27.

Acts iii. 21.

down from heaven, and deſcended into the loweſt parts of the earth, is aſcended far above all heavens; that ſitting at the right hand of God, he might from thence fill all things with the gracious and happy fruits of his ſaving preſence. Aſcenſion into heaven is a plain local tranſlation of Chriſt, according to his manhood, from the lower to the higher parts of the world. Seſſion at the right hand of God is the actual exerciſe of that regency and dominion wherein the manhood of Chriſt is joined, and matched with the Deity of the Son of God. Not that his manhood was before without the poſſeſſion of the ſame power, but becauſe the full uſe thereof was ſuſpended till that humility which had been before as a veil to hide and conceal majeſty were laid aſide. After his riſing again from the dead, then did God ſet him at his right hand in heavenly places, far above all principality and power, and might, and domination, and every name that is named, not in this world only, but alſo in that which is to come; and hath put all things under his feet, and hath appointed him over all, the Head to the Church, which is his body, the fulneſs of him that filleth all in all. The ſceptre of which ſpiritual regiment over us in this preſent world is at the length to be yielded up into the hands of the Father which gave it; that is to ſay, the uſe and exerciſe thereof ſhall ceaſe, there being no longer on earth any militant Church to govern. This government therefore he exerciſeth both as God and as man; as God, by eſſential preſence with all things; as man, by co-operation with that which eſſentially is preſent. Touching the manner how he worketh as man in all things; the principal powers of the ſoul of man are the will and underſtanding, the one of which two in Chriſt aſſenteth unto all things, and from the other nothing which Deity doth work is hid; ſo that by knowledge and aſſent the ſoul of Chriſt is preſent with all things which the Deity of Chriſt worketh. And even the body of Chriſt itſelf, although the de-

Epheſ. iv. 9.

Epheſ. i. 20, 21, 22, 23.

Pſal. viii. 6. Heb. ii. 8. 1 Cor. xv. 24—28.

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finite limitation thereof be moſt ſenſible, doth notwithſtanding admit in ſome ſort a kind of infinite and unlimited preſence likewiſe. For his body being a part of that nature, which whole nature is preſently joined unto Deity; whereſoever Deity is, it followeth, that his bodily ſubſtance hath every where a preſence of true conjunction with Deity. And for as much as it is, by virtue of that conjunction, made the body of the Son of God, by whom alſo it was made a ſacrifice for the ſins of the whole world, this giveth it a preſence of force and efficacy throughout all generations of men. Albeit therefore nothing be actually infinite in ſubſtance but God only, in that he is God; nevertheleſs, as every number is infinite by poſſibility of addition, and every line by poſſibility of extenſion infinite, ſo there is no ſtint which can be ſet to the value or merit of the ſacrificed body of Chriſt, it hath no meaſured certainty of limits, bounds of efficacy unto life it knoweth none, but is alſo itſelf infinite in poſſibility of application. Which things indifferently every way conſidered, that gracious promiſe of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt concerning preſence with his to the very end of the world, I ſee no cauſe but that we may well and ſafely interpret he doth perform, both as God, by eſſential preſence of Deity, and as man, in that order, ſenſe, and meaning, which hath been ſhewed.

The union or mutual participation which is between Chriſt and the Church of Chriſt, in this preſent world.

56. We have hitherto ſpoken of the perſon and of the preſence of Chriſt. Participation is that mutual inward hold which Chriſt hath of us and we of him, in ſuch ſort that each poſſeſſeth other by way of ſpecial intereſt, property, and inherent copulation. For plainer explication whereof, we may, from that which hath been before ſufficiently proved, aſſume to our purpoſe theſe two principles, *That every original cauſe imparteth itſelf unto thoſe things which come of it; and whatſoever taketh being from any other, the ſame is after a ſort in that which giveth it being.* It followeth hereupon, that the Son of God being Light of light, muſt

must needs be also Light [a] in light. The Persons of the Godhead, by reason of the unity of their substance, do as necessarily remain one within another, as they are of necessity to be distinguished one from another, because two are the issue of one, and one the offspring of the other two; only of three, one not growing out of any other. And sith they all are but one God in number, one indivisible essence or substance, their distinction cannot possibly admit separation. For how should that subsist solitarily by itself, which hath no substance, but individually the very same whereby others subsist with it, seeing that the multiplication of substances in particular is necessarily required to make those things subsist apart which have the self-same general nature, and the Persons of that Trinity are not three particular substances to whom one general nature is common, but three that subsist by one substance which itself is particular; yet they all three have it, and their several ways of having it are that which maketh their personal distinction? The Father therefore is in the Son, and the Son in him; they both in the Spirit, and the Spirit in both them. So that the Father's first offspring, which is the Son, remaineth eternally in the Father; the Father eternally also in the Son, no way severed or divided by reason of the sole and single unity of their substance. The Son in the Father, as light in that light out of which it floweth without separation; the Father in the Son, as light in that light which it causeth and leaveth not. And because in this respect his eternal being is of the Father, which eternal being is his life, therefore he by the Father liveth. Again, sith all things do accordingly love their offspring as themselves are more BOOK V.

[a] In the bosom of the Father, John i. 18. Ecce dico alium esse Patrem, et alium Filium; non divisione alium, sed distinctione. Tertul. contra Prax. Nec in numerum pluralem defluit incorporea generatio, nec in divisionem cadit, ubi qui nascitur nequaquam a generante separatur. Ruffin. in Symbol.

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or leſs contained in it, he which is thus the only begotten muſt needs be in this degree the only beloved of the Father. He therefore which is in the Father by eternal derivation of being and life from him, muſt needs be in him through an eternal affection of love. His incarnation cauſeth him alſo as man to be now in the Father, and the Father to be in him. For in that he is man, he receiveth life from the Father as from the fountain of that ever-living Deity, which in the Perſon of the Word hath combined itſelf with manhood, and doth thereunto impart ſuch life as to no other creature beſides him is communicated. In which conſideration likewiſe, the love of the Father towards him is more than it can be towards any other; neither can any attain unto that perfection of love which he beareth towards his heavenly Father. Wherefore God is not ſo in any, nor any ſo in God as Chriſt; whether we conſider him as the perſonal Word of God, or as the natural Son of man. All other things that are of God, have God in them, and he them in himſelf likewiſe. Yet becauſe their ſubſtance and his wholly differeth, their coherence and communion either with him or amongſt themſelves, is in no ſort like unto that before-mentioned. God hath his influence into the very eſſence of all things, without which influence of Deity ſupporting them, their utter annihilation could not chooſe but follow. Of him all things have both received their firſt being, and their continuance to be that which they are. All things are therefore partakers of God, they are his offſpring, his influence is in them, and the perſonal wiſdom of God is for that very cauſe ſaid to excel in nimbleneſs or agility, to pierce into all intellectual, pure, and ſubtile ſpirits, to go through all, and to reach unto every thing which is. Otherwiſe, how can the ſame Wiſdom be that which ſupporteth, beareth up, and ſuſtaineth all? Whatſoever God doth work, the hands of all three Perſons are jointly and equally in it, according to the order of that connection whereby they each depend upon

Luke iii. 22. John iii. 34, 35. and v. 20. and x. 17. and xiv. 31. and xv. 10.

Wiſd. vii. 23.

Heb. i. 3.

upon other. And therefore albeit in that reſpect the Father be firſt, the Son next, the Spirit laſt, and conſequently neareſt unto every effect which groweth from all three; nevertheleſs, they all being of one eſſence, are likewiſe all of one efficacy. Dare any man, unleſs he be ignorant altogether how inſeparable the Perſons of the Trinity are, perſuade himſelf that every of them may have their ſole and ſeveral poſſeſſions, or that we being not partakers of all, can have fellowſhip with any one? The Father as Goodneſs, the Son as Wiſdom, the Holy Ghoſt as Power, do all concur in every particular, outwardly iſſuing from that one only glorious Deity which they all are. For that which moveth God to work is Goodneſs; and that which ordereth his work is Wiſdom; and that which perfecteth his work is Power. All things, which God in their times and ſeaſons hath brought forth, were eternally and before all times in God, as a work unbegun is in the artificer which afterward bringeth it unto effect. Therefore whatſoever we do behold now in this preſent world, it was enwrapped within the bowels of Divine Mercy, written in the Book of Eternal Wiſdom, and held in the hands of Omnipotent Power, the firſt foundations of the world being as yet unlaid. So that all things which God hath made are in that reſpect the offspring of God, they are in him as effects in their higheſt cauſe; he likewiſe actually is in them, the aſſiſtance and influence of his Deity is their life. Let hereunto ſaving efficacy be added, and it bringeth forth a ſpecial offspring amongſt men, containing them to whom God hath himſelf given the gracious and amiable name of ſons. We are by nature the ſons of Adam. When God created Adam, he created us; and as many as are deſcended from Adam, have in themſelves the root out of which they ſpring. The ſons of God we neither are all, nor any one of us, otherwiſe than only by grace and favour. The ſons of God have God's own natural Son as a ſecond Adam from Heaven, whoſe race

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John xiv. 23.

Acts xvii. 28. John i. 4. and 10. Iſai. xl. 26.

1 John iii. 1.

1 Cor. xv. 47.

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race and progeny they are by ſpiritual and heavenly birth. God therefore loving eternally his Son, he muſt needs eternally in him have loved and preferred before all others, them which are ſpiritually ſithence deſcended and ſprung out of him. Theſe were in God as in their Saviour, and not as in their Creator only. It was the purpoſe of his ſaving Goodneſs, his ſaving Wiſdom, and his ſaving Power, which inclined itſelf towards them. They which thus were in God eternally by their intended admiſſion to life, have by vocation or adoption God actually now in them, as the artificer is in the work which his hand doth preſently frame. Life as all other gifts and benefits groweth originally from the Father, and cometh not to us but by the Son; nor by the Son to any of us in particular, but through the Spirit. For this cauſe the Apoſtle wiſheth to the Church of Corinth, *the grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the love of God, and the fellowſhip of the Holy Ghoſt.* Which three St. Peter comprehendeth in one, *The participation of Divine Nature.* We are therefore in God through Chriſt eternally, according to that intent and purpoſe whereby we are choſen to be made his in this preſent world, before the world itſelf was made: we are in God, through the knowledge which is had of us, and the love which is borne towards us from everlaſting. But in God we actually are no longer than only from the time of our actual adoption into the body of his true Church, into the fellowſhip of his children. For his Church he knoweth and loveth; ſo that they which are in the Church are thereby known to be in him. Our being in Chriſt by eternal fore-knowledge ſaveth us not without our actual and real adoption into the fellowſhip of his Saints in this preſent world. For in him we actually are by our actual incorporation into that ſociety which hath him for their head; and doth make together with him one body, (he and they in that reſpect having one name;) for which cauſe, by virtue of this myſtical conjunction, we are of him, and in

Ephes. i. 3, 4, 5.

1 John v. 11.

Rom. viii. 10.

2 Cor. xiii. 13.

2 Pet. i. 4.

Col. ii. 10.

1 Cor. xii. 12.

in him, even as though our very fleſh and bones ſhould be made continuate with his. We are in Chriſt, becauſe he knoweth and loveth us, even as parts of himſelf. No man actually is in him, but they in whom he actually is. For *he which hath not the Son of God, hath not life: I am the vine, and ye are the branches: He which abideth in me, and I in him, the ſame bringeth forth much fruit*; but the branch ſevered from the vine withereth. We are therefore adopted ſons of God to eternal life by participation of the only begotten Son of God, whoſe life is the well-ſpring and cauſe of ours. It is too cold an interpretation whereby ſome men expound our being in Chriſt to import nothing elſe, but only, that the ſelf-ſame nature which maketh us to be men is in him, and maketh him man as we are. For what man in the world is there, which hath not ſo far forth communion with Jeſus Chriſt? It is not this that can ſuſtain the weight of ſuch ſentences as ſpeak of the myſtery of our coherence with Jeſus Chriſt. The Church is in Chriſt, as Eve was in Adam. Yea, by grace we are every of us in Chriſt and in his Church, as by nature we were in thoſe our firſt parents. God made Eve of the rib of Adam; and his Church he frameth out of the very fleſh, the very wounded and bleeding ſide of the Son of man. His body crucified and his blood ſhed for the life of the world are the true elements of that heavenly being, which maketh us ſuch as himſelf is of whom we come. For which cauſe the words of Adam may be fitly the words of Chriſt concerning his Church, *Fleſh of my fleſh, and bone of my bones*; a true nature extract out of my own body. So that in him, even according to his manhood, we, according to our heavenly being, are as branches in that root out of which they grow. To all things he is life, and to men light, as the Son of God; to the Church, both life and light eternal, by being made the Son of man for us, and by being in us a Saviour, whether we reſpect him as God or as man. Adam is in us as

Ephes. v. 30. John xv. 9. 1 John v. 12. John xv. 5, 6. John xiv. 19. Ephes. v. 23. John xiv. 20. and xv. 4. 1 Cor. xv. 48. John i. 4—9. and vi. 57.

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an original cauſe of our nature, and of that corruption of nature which cauſeth death; Chriſt as the cauſe original of reſtoration to life. The perſon of Adam is not in us, but his nature, and the corruption of his nature derived into all men by propagation; Chriſt having Adam's nature, as we have, but incorrupt, deriveth not nature but incorruption, and that immediately from his own Perſon, into all that belong unto him. As therefore we are really partakers of the body of ſin and death received from Adam; ſo except we be truly partakers of Chriſt, and as really poſſeſſed of his Spirit, all we ſpeak of eternal life is but a dream. That which quickeneth us is the Spirit of the ſecond Adam, and his fleſh that wherewith he quickeneth. That which in him made our nature uncorrupt was the union of his Deity with our nature. And in that reſpect the ſentence of death and condemnation, which only taketh hold upon ſinful fleſh, could no way poſſibly extend unto him. This cauſed his voluntary death for others to prevail with God, and to have the force of an expiatory ſacrifice. The blood of Chriſt, as the Apoſtle witneſſeth, doth therefore take away ſin, becauſe, *through the eternal Spirit, he offereth himſelf unto God without ſpot.* That which ſanctified our nature in Chriſt, that which made it a ſacrifice available to take away ſin, is the ſame which quickeneth it, raiſed it out of the grave after death, and exalted it unto glory. Seeing therefore that Chriſt is in us a quickening ſpirit, the firſt degree of communion with Chriſt muſt needs conſiſt in the participation of his Spirit, which Cyprian in that reſpect termeth *germaniſſimam ſocietatem*, the higheſt and trueſt ſociety that can be between man and him, which is both God and man in one. Theſe things St. Cyril duly conſidering, reproveth their ſpeeches which taught that only the Deity of Chriſt is the vine whereupon we by faith do depend as branches, and that neither his fleſh nor our bodies are compriſed in this reſemblance. For doth any

Heb. v. 9.

1 Cor. xv. 22, 45.

Heb. ix. 14.

Cypr. de Cœna Dom. cap. vi.

Cyril. in Joan. lib. x. cap. 13.

any man doubt, but that even from the fleſh of Chriſt our very bodies do receive that life which ſhall make them glorious at the latter day; and for which they are already accounted parts of his bleſſed body? Our corruptible bodies could never live the life they ſhall live, were it not that here they are joined with his body which is incorruptible, and that his is in our's as a cauſe of immortality, a cauſe by removing through the death and merit of his own fleſh that which hindered the life of our's. Chriſt is therefore, both as God and as man, that true vine whereof we both ſpiritually and corporally are branches. The mixture of his bodily ſubſtance with our's is a thing which the ancient Fathers[a] diſclaim. Yet the mixture of his fleſh with our's they[b] ſpeak of, to ſignify what our very bodies, through myſtical conjunction, receive from that vital efficacy which we know to be in his; and from bodily mixtures they borrow divers ſimilitudes, rather to declare the truth, than the manner of[c] coherence between his ſacred, and the ſanctified bodies of ſaints. Thus much no Chriſtian man will deny, that when Chriſt ſanctified his own fleſh giving as God, and taking as man the Holy Ghoſt, he did not this for himſelf only, but for our ſakes, that the grace of ſanctification and life, which was firſt received in him, might paſs from him to his whole race, as maledic-

[a] Noſtra quippe et ipſius conjunctio nec miſcet perſonas nec unit ſubſtantias, ſed affectus conſociat et confœderat voluntates. Cypr. de Cœn. Dom.

[b] Quomodo dicunt carnem in corruptionem devenire, et non percipere vitam, quæ a corpore Domini et ſanguine alitur? Iren. lib. iv. adverſ. Hæreſ. cap. 34.

[c] Unde conſiderandum eſt non ſolum σχέσει ſeu conformitate affectionum, Chriſtum in nobis eſſe; verum etiam participatione naturali, (id eſt reali et vera,) quemadmodum ſi quis igne liquefactam ceram alii ceræ ſimiliter liquefactæ ita miſcuerit ut unum quid ex utriſque factum videatur; ſic communicatione Corporis et Sanguinis Chriſti ipſe in nobis eſt, et nos in ipſo. Cyril. in Joan. lib. x. cap. 13.

tion

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tion came from Adam unto all mankind. Howbeit, becauſe the work of his Spirit to thoſe effects is in us prevented by ſin and death, poſſeſſing us before; it is of neceſſity, that as well our preſent ſanctification unto newneſs of life, as the future reſtoration of our bodies, ſhould preſuppoſe a participation of the grace, efficacy, merit, or virtue of his body and blood; without which foundation firſt laid, there is no place for thoſe other operations of the Spirit of Chriſt to enſue. So that Chriſt imparteth plainly himſelf by degrees. It pleaſeth him in mercy, to account himſelf incomplete and maimed [a] without us. But moſt aſſured we are, that we all receive of his fulneſs, becauſe he is in us as a moving and working cauſe; from which many bleſſed effects are really found to enſue, and that in ſundry both kinds and degrees, all tending to eternal happineſs. It muſt be confeſſed, that of Chriſt working as a creator and a governor of the world by providence all are partakers; not all partakers of that grace whereby he inhabiteth whom he ſaveth. Again, as he dwelleth not by grace in all, ſo neither doth he equally work in all them in whom he dwelleth.

Aug. Epiſt. 187. p. 683. tom. ii. ed. Par.

Whence is it (ſaith St. Auguſtine) *that ſome be holier than others are, but becauſe God doth dwell in ſome more plentifully than in others?* And becauſe the divine ſubſtance of Chriſt is equally in all, his human ſubſtance equally diſtant from all; it appeareth that the participation of Chriſt, wherein there are many degrees and differences, muſt needs conſiſt in ſuch effects, as being derived from both natures of Chriſt really into us, are made our own: and we, by having them in us, are truly ſaid to have him from whom they come; Chriſt alſo more or leſs, to inhabit and impart himſelf, as the graces are fewer or more, greater or ſmaller, which really

[a] Epheſ. i. 23. Eccleſia complementum ejus qui implet omnia in omnibus. Τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ πάντα ἐν πᾶσι πληρουμένου.

flow

flow into us from Christ. Christ is whole with the whole Church, and whole with every part of the Church, as touching his Person, which can no way divide itself, or be possessed by degrees and portions. But the participation of Christ importeth, besides the presence of Christ's Person, and besides the mystical copulation thereof with the parts and members of his whole Church, a true actual influence of grace whereby the life which we live according to godliness is his; and from him we receive those perfections wherein our eternal happiness consisteth. Thus we participate Christ, partly by imputation, as when those things which he did and suffered for us are imputed unto us for righteousness; partly by habitual and real infusion, as when grace is inwardly bestowed while we are on earth, and afterwards more fully both our souls and bodies made like unto his in glory. The first thing of his so infused into our hearts in this life is the spirit of Christ; whereupon, because the rest of what kind soever do all both necessarily depend and infallibly also ensue; therefore the Apostles term it, sometime the seed of God, sometime the pledge of our heavenly inheritance, sometime the hansel or earnest of that which is to come. From whence it is, that they which belong to the mystical body of our Saviour Christ, and be in number as the stars of heaven, divided successively, by reason of their mortal condition, into many generations, are notwithstanding coupled every one to Christ their head, and all unto every particular person amongst themselves, inasmuch as the same Spirit which anointed the blessed soul of our Saviour Christ, doth so formalize, unite, and actuate his whole race, as if both he and they were so many limbs compacted into one body, by being quickened all with one and the same soul. That wherein we are partakers of Jesus Christ by imputation agreeth equally unto all that

Gal. ii. 20.

Isai. liii. 4. 5. Ephes. i. 7.

Rom. viii. 9. Gal. iv. 6.

1 John iii. 9. Ephes. i. 14. Rom. viii. 23.

1 Cor. xii. 27. Ephes. iv. 15. Rom. xii. 5. Ephes. iv. 25.

BOOK V. that have it. For it conſiſteth in ſuch acts and deeds of his, as could not have longer continuance than while they were in doing, nor at that very time belong unto any other, but to him from whom they come; and therefore how men, either then, or before, or ſithence, ſhould be made partakers of them, there can be no way imagined, but only by imputation. Again, a deed muſt either not be imputed to any, but reſt altogether in him whoſe it is; or if at all it be imputed, they which have it by imputation muſt have it ſuch as it is, whole. So that degrees being neither in the perſonal preſence of Chriſt, nor in the participation of thoſe effects which are our's by imputation only; it reſteth that we wholly apply them to the participation of Chriſt's infuſed grace; although, even in this kind alſo, the firſt beginning of life, the ſeed of God, the firſt fruits of Chriſt's Spirit, be without latitude. For we have hereby only the being of the ſons of God, in which number how far ſoever one may ſeem to excel another, yet touching this that all are ſons, they are all equals, ſome happily better ſons than the reſt are, but none any more a ſon than another. Thus therefore we ſee how the Father is in the Son, and the Son in the Father; how they both are in all things, and all things in them; what communion Chriſt hath with his Church, how his Church and every member thereof is in him by original derivation, and he perſonally in them, by way of myſtical aſſociation, wrought through the gift of the Holy Ghoſt, which they that are his receive from him, and together with the ſame what benefit ſoever the vital force of his body and blood may yield; yea, by ſteps and degrees they receive the complete meaſure of all ſuch divine grace as doth ſanctify and ſave throughout, till the day of their final exaltation to a ſtate of fellowſhip in glory with him, whoſe partakers they are now in thoſe

thoſe things that tend to glory. As for any mixture of the ſubſtance of his fleſh with our's, the participation which we have of Chriſt includeth no ſuch kind of groſs ſurmiſe.

The neceſſity of Sacraments unto the participation of Chriſt.

57. It greatly offendeth, that ſome, when they labour to ſhew the uſe of the holy Sacraments, aſſign unto them no end but only to teach the mind, by other ſenſes, that which the Word doth teach by hearing. Whereupon, how eaſily neglect and careleſs regard of ſo heavenly myſteries may follow, we ſee in part by ſome experience had of thoſe men with whom that opinion is moſt ſtrong. For where the Word of God may be heard which teacheth with much more expedition and more full explications any thing we have to learn, if all the benefit we reap by Sacraments be inſtruction, they which at all times have opportunity of uſing the better mean to that purpoſe will ſurely hold the worſe in leſs eſtimation. And unto infants, which are not capable of inſtruction, who would not think it a mere ſuperfluity that any Sacrament is adminiſtered, if to adminiſter the Sacraments be but to teach receivers what God doth for them? There is of Sacraments therefore, undoubtedly, ſome other more excellent and heavenly uſe. Sacraments, by reaſon of their mixed nature, are more diverſely interpreted and diſputed of than any other parts of religion beſides; for that in ſo great ſtore of properties belonging to the ſelf-ſame thing, as every man's wit hath taken hold of ſome eſpecial conſideration above the reſt, ſo they have accordingly ſeemed one to croſs another, as touching their ſeveral opinions about the neceſſity of Sacraments; whereas in truth their diſagreement is not great. For, let reſpect be had to the duty which every communicant doth undertake, and we may well determine concerning the uſe of Sacraments, that they ſerve as bonds of obedience to God, ſtrict obligations to the mutual exerciſe of Chriſtian charity, provocations to godlineſs, preſervations

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ſervations from ſin, memorials of the principal benefits of Chriſt: reſpect the time of their inſtitution; and it thereby appeareth that God hath annexed them for ever unto the New Teſtament, as other Rites were before with the Old: regard the weakneſs which is in us, and they are warrants for the more ſecurity of our belief: compare the receivers of them with ſuch as receive them not, and Sacraments are marks of diſtinction to ſeparate God's own from ſtrangers; ſo that in all theſe reſpects, they are found to be moſt neceſſary. But their chiefeſt force and virtue conſiſteth not herein, ſo much as in that they are heavenly Ceremonies which God hath ſanctified and ordained to be adminiſtered in his Church; firſt, as marks whereby to know when God doth impart the vital or ſaving grace of Chriſt unto all that are capable thereof; and ſecondly, as means conditional, which God requireth in them unto whom he imparteth grace. For, ſith God in himſelf is inviſible, and cannot by us be diſcerned working, therefore when it ſeemeth good in the eyes of his heavenly wiſdom that men for ſome ſpecial intent and purpoſe ſhould take notice of his glorious preſence, he giveth them ſome plain and ſenſible token whereby to know what they cannot ſee. For

Exod. iii. 2. Moſes to ſee God and live was impoſſible; yet Moſes by fire knew where the glory of God extra-

John v. 4. ordinarily was preſent. The Angel by whom God endued the waters of the pool, called Bethelda, with ſupernatural virtue to heal, was not ſeen of any; yet the time of the Angel's preſence known by the troubled motions of the waters themſelves.

Acts ii. 3. The Apoſtles by fiery tongues which they ſaw were admoniſhed when the Spirit, which they could not behold, was upon them; in like manner it is with us. Chriſt and his holy Spirit with all their bleſſed effects, though entering into the ſoul of man, we are not able to apprehend or expreſs how, do notwithſtanding give notice of the times when they uſe

uſe to make their acceſs, becauſe it pleaſeth Almighty God to communicate by ſenſible means thoſe bleſſings which are incomprehenſible. Seeing, therefore, that grace is a conſequent of Sacraments, a thing which accompanieth them as their end, a benefit which they have received from God himſelf, the author of Sacraments, and not from any other natural or ſupernatural quality in them; it may be hereby both underſtood, that Sacraments are neceſſary, and that the manner of their neceſſity to life ſupernatural is not in all reſpects as food unto natural life, becauſe they contain in themſelves no vital force or efficacy; they are not phyſical, but moral inſtruments of ſalvation, duties of ſervice and worſhip; which unleſs we perform as the author of grace requireth, they are unprofitable: for, all receive not the grace of God which receive the Sacraments of his grace. Neither is it ordinarily his will to beſtow the grace of Sacraments on any but by the Sacraments; which grace alſo, they that receive by Sacraments or with Sacraments, receive it from him, and not from them. For of Sacraments, the very ſame is true which Solomon's wiſdom obſerveth in the brazen ſerpent[a], *He that turned towards it, was not healed by the thing he ſaw, but by thee, O Saviour of all.* This is therefore the neceſſity of Sacraments. That ſaving grace which Chriſt originally is, or hath for the general good of his whole Church, by Sacraments he ſeverally deriveth into every member thereof. Sacraments ſerve as the inſtruments of God, to that end and purpoſe; moral inſtruments, the uſe whereof is in our own hands, the effect in his; for the uſe we have his expreſs commandment; for the effect, his conditional promiſe: ſo that without our obedience to the one, there is of the other no apparent aſſurance; as contrariwiſe, where the ſigns and Sacra-

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Wiſd. xvi. 7.

[a] Spiritus Sancti munus eſt gratiam implere myſterii. Ambr. in Luc. cap. iii. Sanctificans elementis effectum non propria ipſarum natura præbet, ſed virtus divina potentius operatur. Cyp. de Chriſm.

ments

BOOK V. ments of his grace are not either through contempt unreceived, or received with contempt, we are not to doubt, but that they really give what they promiſe, and are what they ſignify. For we take not Baptiſm, nor the Euchariſt, for bare reſemblances or memorials of things abſent, neither for naked ſigns and teſtimonies aſſuring us of grace received before, but (as they are indeed and in verity) for means effectual, whereby God, when we take the Sacraments, delivereth into our hands that grace available unto eternal life, which grace the Sacraments [a] repreſent or ſignify. There have grown in the doctrine concerning Sacraments many difficulties for want of diſtinct explication, what kind or degree of grace doth belong unto each Sacrament. For by this it hath come to paſs, that the true immediate cauſe why Baptiſm and why the Supper of our Lord is neceſſary, few do rightly and diſtinctly conſider. It cannot be denied but ſundry the ſame effects and benefits which grow unto men by the one Sacrament, may rightly be attributed unto the other. Yet then doth Baptiſm challenge to itſelf but the inchoation of thoſe graces, the conſummation whereof dependeth on myſteries enſuing. We receive Chriſt Jeſus in Baptiſm once, as the firſt beginner; in the Euchariſt often, as being by continual degrees the finiſher of our life. By Baptiſm therefore, we receive Chriſt Jeſus, and from him that ſaving grace which is proper unto Baptiſm; by the other Sacrament we receive him alſo imparting therein himſelf and that grace which the Euchariſt properly beſtoweth. So that each Sacrament having both that which is general or common, and that alſo which is peculiar unto itſelf, we may hereby gather, that the

[a] Dum homini bonum inviſibile redditur, foris ei ejuſdem ſignificatio per ſpecies viſibiles adhibetur, ut foris excitetur et intus reparetur. In ipſa vaſis ſpecie virtus exprimitur medicinæ. Hugo de Sacram. lib. i. cap. 3. Si ergo vaſa ſunt ſpiritualis gratiæ ſacramenta, non ex ſuo ſanant, quia vaſa ægrotum non curant, ſed medicina. Idem, lib. i. cap. 4.

participation

participation of Chriſt, which properly belongeth to any one Sacrament, is not otherwiſe to be obtained but by the Sacrament whereunto it is proper. BOOK V.

58. Now even as the ſoul doth organize the body, and give unto every member thereof that ſubſtance, quantity, and ſhape, which Nature ſeeth moſt expedient; ſo the inward grace of Sacraments may teach what ſerveth beſt for their outward form; a thing in no part of Chriſtian Religion, much leſs here to be neglected. Grace intended by Sacraments was a cauſe of the choice, and is a reaſon of the fitneſs of the elements themſelves. Furthermore, ſeeing that the grace which here we receive doth no way depend upon the natural force of that which we preſently behold, it was of neceſſity, that words of expreſs declaration, taken from the very mouth of our Lord himſelf, ſhould be added unto viſible elements, that the one might infallibly teach what the other do moſt aſſuredly bring to paſs. In writing and ſpeaking of the bleſſed Sacrament we [a] uſe for the moſt part under the name of their ſubſtance, not only to compriſe that whereof they outwardly and ſenſibly conſiſt, but alſo the ſecret grace which they ſignify and exhibit. This is the reaſon wherefore commonly in [b] definitions, whether they be framed larger to augment, or ſtricter

The ſubſtance of Baptiſm; the rites or ſolemnities thereunto belonging. and that the ſubſtance thereof being kept, other things in Baptiſm may give place to neceſſity.

[a] Euchariſtia duabus ex rebus conſtat, terrena et cœleſti. Iren. adverſ. Hæreſ. lib. iv. cap. 34. Arcanarum rerum ſymbola non nudis ſignis, ſed ſignis ſimul et rebus conſtant. Helvet. Confeſ. Prior. Art. 2.

[b] Sacramentum eſt, cum res geſta viſibilis longe aliud inviſibile intus operatur. Iſid. Etym. lib. i. Sacramentum eſt per quod ſub tegumento rerum viſibilium divina virtus ſalutem ſecretius operatur. Greg. Mag. Sacramentum eſt ſignum ſignificans efficaciter effectum Dei gratuitum. Occa. Sent. lib. iv. d. 1. Sacramentum proprie non eſt ſignum cujuſlibet rei ſacræ, ſed tantum rei ſacræ ſanctificantis homines. Tho. xii. q. 101, 4. et q. 102, 5. Sacramentum eſt ſignum paſſionis Chriſti, gratiæ et gloriæ: ideo eſt commemoratio præteriti, demonſtratio præſentis, et prognoſticon futuri. Tho. iii. q. 60, 3. Sacramenta ſunt ſigna et ſymbola viſibilia rerum internarum et inviſibilium, per quæ, ceu per media, Deus virtute Spiritus Sancti in nobis agit. Conf. Belg. Art. 33. Item Bohem. Conf. cap. 11.

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[a] Sacramenta conſtant verbo, ſignis, et rebus ſignificatis. Confeſ. Helvet. Poſt. c. 19.

[b] Si aliquid Miniſtri agere intendant, puta ſacris illudere myſteriis, vel aliud quod Eccleſiæ non conſentiat, nihil agitur; ſine fide enim ſpiritualis poteſtas exerceri quidem poteſt, ſine Eccleſiæ intentione non poteſt. Lancel. Inſt. Jur. Can. lib. ii. Tit. ii. 5.

outwardly doth the work, hath inwardly the purpoſe of the Church of God. Concerning all other orders, rites, prayers, leſſons, ſermons, actions, and their circumſtances whatſoever, they are to the outward ſubſtance of Baptiſm but things acceſſory, which the wiſdom of the Church of Chriſt is to order according to the exigence of that which is principal. Again, conſidering that ſuch Ordinances have been made to adorn the Sacrament [a], not the Sacrament to depend upon them; ſeeing alſo, that they are not of the ſubſtance of Baptiſm, and that Baptiſm is far more neceſſary than any ſuch incident rite or ſolemnity ordained for the better adminiſtration thereof [b]; if the caſe be ſuch as permitteth not Baptiſm to have decent complements of Baptiſm, better it were to enjoy the body without its furniture, than to wait for this till the opportunity of that for which we deſire it be loſt. Which premiſes ſtanding, it ſeemeth to have been no abſurd collection, that in caſes of neceſſity, which will not ſuffer delay till Baptiſm be adminiſtered with uſual ſolemnities, it may, to ſpeak the leaſt, be tolerably given without them, rather than any man without it ſhould be ſuffered to depart this life.

59. They which deny that any ſuch caſe of neceſſity can fall, in regard whereof the Church ſhould tolerate Baptiſm without the decent rites and ſolemnities thereunto belonging, pretend that ſuch tolerations have riſen from a falſe interpretation which certain men have made of the Scripture, grounding a neceſſity of external Baptiſm upon the words of our Saviour Chriſt: *Unleſs a man be born again of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of Heaven* [c]. For by water and the Spirit, we are in that

The grounds in Scripture whereupon a neceſſity of outward Baptiſm hath been built.

[a] Acceſſorium non regulat principale, ſed ab eo regulatur. 42. De Regul. Jur. in Sext. lib. iii. tit.

[b] Etſi nihil facile mutandum eſt ex ſolennibus, tamen ubi æquitas evidens poſcit, ſubveniendum eſt. Lib. clxxxiii. de Reg. Jur.

[c] T. C. l. i. p. 143. Private Baptiſm firſt roſe upon a falſe interpretation of the place of St. John, ch. iii. 5. *Unleſs a man be born again of water, and of the Spirit*, &c. where, certain do interpret the word water, for the material and elemental water,

BOOK V. place to underſtand, as they imagine, no more than if the Spirit alone had been mentioned, and water not ſpoken of. Which they think is plain, becauſe elſewhere it is not improbable that *the Holy Ghoſt and fire* do but ſignify the Holy Ghoſt in operation reſembling fire. Whereupon they conclude, that ſeeing fire in one place may be, therefore water in another place is but a metaphor; Spirit, the interpretation thereof; and ſo the words do only mean, *That unleſs a man be born again of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of Heaven.* I hold it for a moſt infallible rule in expoſitions of ſacred Scripture, that where a literal conſtruction will ſtand, the fartheſt from the letter is commonly the worſt. There is nothing more dangerous than this licentious and deluding art, which changeth the meaning of words, as alchymy doth or would do the ſubſtance of metals, maketh of any thing what it liſteth, and bringeth in the end all truth to nothing. Or howſoever ſuch voluntary exerciſe of wit might be borne with otherwiſe; yet in places which uſually ſerve, as this doth, concerning regeneration by water and the Holy Ghoſt, to be alleged for grounds and principles, leſs is permitted. To hide the general conſent of antiquity, agreeing in the literal interpretation, they cunningly affirm, that certain have taken thoſe words as meant of material water, when they know that of all the ancients there is not one to be named that ever did otherwiſe either expound or allege the place, than as implying external Baptiſm. Shall that which hath always [a] received

when as our Saviour Chriſt taketh water there, by a borrowed ſpeech, for the Spirit of God, the effect whereof it ſhadoweth out. For even as in another place, Mat. iii. 11. by *fire and the Spirit*, he meaneth nothing but the Spirit of God, which purgeth and purifieth as the fire doth; ſo in this place, by water and the Spirit, he meaneth nothing elſe but the Spirit of God, which cleanſeth the filth of ſin, and cooleth the boiling heat of an unquiet conſcience; as water waſheth the thing which is foul, and quencheth the heat of the fire.

[a] Minime ſunt mutanda, quæ interpretationem certam ſemper habuerunt. D. lib. i. tit. 2. lib. xxiii.

this

this and no other conſtruction be now diſguiſed with the toy of novelty? Muſt we needs, at the only ſhew of a critical conceit, without any more deliberation, utterly condemn them of error, which will not admit that fire in the words of John is quenched with the name of the Holy Ghoſt; or, with the name of the Spirit, water dried up in the words of Chriſt? When the letter of the Law hath two things plainly and expreſsly ſpecified, water and the Spirit; water as a duty required on our parts, the Spirit as a gift which God beſtoweth; there is danger in preſuming ſo to interpret it, as if the clauſe which concerneth ourſelves were more than needeth. We may by ſuch rare expoſitions attain perhaps in the end to be thought witty, but with ill advice. Finally, if at [a] the time when that Baptiſm which was meant by John came to be really and truly performed by Chriſt himſelf, we find the Apoſtles that had been, as we are, before baptized, new baptized with the Holy Ghoſt, and in this their later Baptiſm as well a viſible deſcent of fire, as a ſecret miraculous infuſion of the Spirit; if on us he accompliſh likewiſe the heavenly work of our new birth, not with the Spirit alone, but with water thereunto adjoined, ſith the faithfulleſt expounders of his words are his own deeds, let that which his hand hath manifeſtly wrought declare what his ſpeech did doubtfully utter. Acts ii. 3.

60. To this they add, that as we err by following a wrong conſtruction of the place before alleged; ſo our ſecond overſight is, that we hereupon infer a neceſſity over rigorous and extreme [b]. The true neceſſity of Baptiſm, a few propoſitions conſidered will

What kind of neceſſity in outward Baptiſm hath been gathered by the words of our Saviour Chriſt, and what the true neceſſity thereof indeed is.

[a] Acts i. 5. John baptized with water, but you ſhall within few days be baptized with the Holy Ghoſt.

[b] T. C. lib. i. p. 143. Secondly, this error (of private Baptiſm) came by a falſe and unneceſſary concluſion drawn from that place. For, although the Scripture ſhould ſay, that none can be ſaved, but thoſe which have the Spirit of God and are baptized with material and elemental water, yet it ought to be underſtood of thoſe which can conveniently and orderly be brought to Baptiſm;

BOOK V. ſoon decide. All things which either are known [a] cauſes or ſet means, whereby any great good is uſually procured, or men delivered from grievous evil, the ſame we muſt needs confeſs neceſſary. And if regeneration were not in this very ſenſe a thing neceſſary to eternal life, would Chriſt himſelf have taught Nicodemus, John iii. 3. that to ſee the kingdom of God is impoſſible, ſaving only for thoſe men which are born from above? His words following in the next ſentence are a proof ſufficient, that to our regeneration his Spirit is no leſs Verſe 5. neceſſary, than regeneration itſelf neceſſary unto life. Thirdly, unleſs as the Spirit is a neceſſary inward cauſe, ſo water were a neceſſary outward mean to our regeneration, what conſtruction ſhould we give unto thoſe words wherein we are ſaid to be new born, and that ἐξ ὕδατος, even of water? Why are Epheſ. v. 26. we taught, that with water God doth purify and cleanſe his Church? Wherefore do the Apoſtles of Tit. iii. 5. Chriſt term Baptiſm a bath of regeneration? What purpoſe had they in giving men advice to receive outward Baptiſm, and in perſuading them, it did Acts ii. 38. avail to remiſſion of ſins? If outward Baptiſm were a cauſe in itſelf poſſeſſed of that power, either natural or ſupernatural, without the preſent operation whereof no ſuch effect could poſſibly grow; it muſt then follow, that ſeeing effects do never prevent the neceſſary cauſes out of which they ſpring, no

tiſm; as the Scripture, ſaying, that whoſo doth not believe the Goſpel, is condemned already, John iii. 18. meaneth this ſentence of thoſe which can hear the Goſpel, and have diſcretion to underſtand it when they hear it; and cannot here ſhut under this condemnation, either thoſe that be born deaf and ſo remain, or little infants, or natural fools that have not wit to conceive what is preached.

[a] Ἀναγκαῖον λέγεται οὗ ἄνευ ἐκ ἐνδέχεται ζῆν ὡς συναιτίου· καὶ ὧν ἄνευ τὸ ἀγαθὸν μὴ ἐνδέχεται ἢ εἶναι ἢ γίνεσθαι, ἢ τὸ κακὸν ἀπελαθῆναι, ἢ γενέσθαι. Neceſſarium id dicitur, ſine quo ut concauſa fieri non poteſt ut vivatur; et ea ſine quibus fieri nequit ut bonum aut ſit aut fiat; vel malum aliquod amoveatur, aut non adſit. Ariſt. Metaph. v. cap. 5.

man

man could ever receive grace before Baptiſm: which being apparently both known, and alſo confeſſed to be otherwiſe in many particulars, although in the reſt we make not Baptiſm a cauſe of grace; yet the grace which is given them with their [a] Baptiſm, doth ſo far forth depend on the very outward Sacrament, that God will have it embraced, not only as a ſign or token what we receive, but alſo as an inſtrument or mean whereby we receive grace, becauſe Baptiſm is a Sacrament which God hath inſtituted in his Church, to the end that they which receive the ſame might thereby be [b] incorporated into Chriſt; and ſo through his moſt precious merit obtain, as well that ſaving grace of imputation which taketh away [c] all former guiltineſs, as alſo that [d] infuſed divine virtue of the Holy Ghoſt which giveth to the powers of the ſoul their firſt diſpoſition towards future newneſs of life. There are that elevate too much the ordinary and immediate means of life, relying wholly upon the bare

BOOK V.

[a] Fideles ſalutem ex iſtis Elementis non quærunt, etiamſi in iſtis quæruntur. Non enim iſta tribuunt quod per iſta tribuitur. Hugo de Sacram. lib. i. cap. 3.

[b] Suſceptus a Chriſto, Chriſtumque ſuſcipiens, non idem fit poſt lavacrum qui ante Baptiſmum fuit; ſed corpus regenerati fit caro crucifixi. Leo. Serm. iv. de Paſ. Dom.

[c] Caro abluitur ut anima emaculetur. Tert. de Carn. Reſur. Homo per aquam Baptiſmi licet a foris idem eſſe videatur, intus tamen alter efficitur; cum peccato natus, ſine peccato renaſcitur; prioribus perit, ſuccedentibus proficit; deterioribus exuitur, in meliora innovatur; perſona tingitur, et natura mutatur. Euſeb. Emiſ. de Epiphan. Homil. iii. Τριαρὴν γέννησιν ἡμῖν οἶδεν ὁ λόγος, τὴν ἐκ σώματος, τὴν ἐκ βαπτίσματος, τὴν ἐξ ἀναστάσεως. Αὕτη μὲν ἡ τοῦ βαπτίσματος χάρις καὶ δύναμις οὐ κόσμου κατακλυσμὸν ὡς παῖλαι, τῆς δὲ τοῦ καθ' ἕκαστον ἁμαρτίας κάθαρσιν ἔχουσα. Greg. Homil. de Sanct. Bapt.

[d] Unde genitalis auxilio ſuperioris ævi labe deterſa in expiatum pectus ac purum deſuper ſe lumen infundit. Cypr. Epiſt. ad Donat. Οὐ μόνον τῶν παλαιῶν ἁμαρτημάτων δωρεῖται τὴν ἄφεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα τῶν ἐπηγγελμένων ἐντίθησιν ἀγαθῶν, καὶ τοῦ δισποτικοῦ θανάτου καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως καθίσησι κοινωνὸς, καὶ τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος δωρεᾶς τὴν μετουσίαν χαρίζεται. Theod. Epitom. Divin. Dogmat. Baptizari, eſt purgari a ſordibus peccatorum, et donari varia Dei gratia ad vitam novam et innocentem. Confeſſ. Helvet. cap. xx.

BOOK V.

conceit of that eternal election, which notwithſtanding includeth a ſubordination of means, without which we are not actually brought to enjoy what God ſecretly did intend; and therefore to build upon God's election, if we keep not ourſelves to the ways which he hath appointed for men to walk in, is but a ſelf-deceiving vanity. When the Apoſtle ſaw men called to the participation of Jeſus Chriſt, after the Goſpel of God embraced and the Sacrament of life received, he feareth not then to put them in the number of elect Saints; he then accounteth them delivered from death, and clean purged from all ſin. Till then, notwithſtanding their preordination unto life, which none could know of, ſaving God, what were they, in the Apoſtle's own account, but children of wrath, as well as others, plain aliens, altogether without hope, ſtrangers, utterly without God in this preſent world? So that by Sacraments, and other ſenſible tokens of grace, we may boldly gather, that he whoſe mercy vouchſafeth now to beſtow the means, hath alſo long ſithence intended us that whereunto they lead. But let us never think it ſafe to preſume of our own laſt end by bare conjectural collections of his firſt intent and purpoſe, the means failing that ſhould come between. Predeſtination bringeth not to life without the grace of external vocation, wherein our Baptiſm is implied. For as we are not naturally men without birth, ſo neither are we Chriſtian men in the eye of the Church of God but by new birth; nor according to the manifeſt ordinary courſe of divine diſpenſation new-born, but by that Baptiſm which both declareth and maketh us Chriſtians. In which reſpect, we juſtly hold it to be the door of our actual entrance into God's houſe, the firſt apparent [a] beginning of life, a ſeal perhaps to the [b] grace of election before received;

Eph. i. 1.
Eph. v. 8.
Eph. ii. 3, 12.
Rom. viii. 30.

[a] Ἀρχή μοι ζωῆς τὸ βάπτισμα. Baſil. de Spir. Sanct. cap. x.

[b] T. C. lib. iii. p. 134. He which is not a Chriſtian before he come to receive Baptiſm, cannot be made a Chriſtian by Baptiſm; which is only the ſeal of the grace of God before received.

but

but to our ſanctification here, a ſtep that hath not any before it. There were of the old Valentinian heretics ſome which had knowledge in ſuch admiration, that to it they aſcribed all, and ſo deſpiſed the Sacraments of Chriſt, pretending that as ignorance had made us ſubject to all miſery, ſo the full redemption of the inward man, and the work of our reſtauration muſt needs belong unto knowledge only. They draw very near unto this error who, fixing wholly their minds on the known neceſſity of Faith [a], imagine that nothing but Faith is neceſſary for the attainment of all grace. Yet is it a branch of belief, that Sacraments are in their place no leſs required than belief itſelf. For when our Lord and Saviour promiſeth eternal life, is it any otherwiſe than as he promiſed reſtitution of health unto Naaman the Syrian, namely, with this condition, *Waſh and be clean?* or as to them which were ſtung of ſerpents, health by beholding the brazen ſerpent? If Chriſt himſelf which giveth ſalvation do require Baptiſm; it is not for us that look for ſalvation to ſound and examine him, whether unbaptized men may be ſaved; but ſeriouſly to [b] do that which is required, and religiouſly to fear the danger which may grow by the want thereof. Had Chriſt only declared his will to have all men baptized, and not acquainted us with any cauſe why Baptiſm is neceſſary, our ignorance in the reaſon of that he enjoineth might perhaps have hindered ſomewhat the forwardneſs of our obedience thereunto; whereas now being taught that Baptiſm is neceſſary to take away ſin, how have we the fear of God in our hearts, if

BOOK V.

Iren. contra Hæreſ. l. i. c. 18.

2 Kings v. 14. Numb. xxi. 8. Mark xvi. 16.

[a] Hic ſceleſtiſſimi illi provocant quæſtiones. Adeo dicunt, Baptiſmus non eſt neceſſarius quibus fides ſatis eſt. Tert. de Baptiſ. Huic nulla proderit fides, qui, cum poſſit, non percipit Sacramentum. Bern. Epiſt. lxx. ad Hugon.

[b] Inſtitutio Sacramentorum quantum ad Deum Authorem, diſpenſationis eſt; quantum vero ad Hominem obedientem, neceſſitatis. Quoniam in poteſtate Dei eſt præter iſta Hominem ſalvare, ſed in poteſtate Hominis non eſt ſine iſtis ad ſalutem pervenire. Hugo de Sacram. lib. i. cap. 5.

care

BOOK V. care of delivering men's ſouls from ſin do not move us to uſe all means for their Baptiſm? [a] Pelagius, which denied utterly the guilt of original ſin, and in that reſpect the neceſſity of Baptiſm, did notwithſtanding both baptize infants, and acknowledge their Baptiſm neceſſary for entrance into the kingdom of God. Now the Law of Chriſt, which in theſe conſiderations maketh Baptiſm neceſſary, muſt be conſtrued and underſtood according to rules of [b] natural equity. Which rules if they themſelves did not follow in expounding the Law of God, would they ever be able to prove, that the Scripture, in ſaying, *Whoſo believeth not the Goſpel of Chriſt, is condemned already*, meaneth this ſentence of thoſe which can hear the Goſpel, and have diſcretion when they hear, to underſtand it, neither ought it to be applied unto infants, deaf men, and fools? That which teacheth them thus to interpret the Law of Chriſt is natural equity. And (becauſe equity ſo teacheth) it is on all parts gladly confeſſed, that there may be in divers caſes life by virtue of inward Baptiſm, even where outward is not found. So that if any queſtion be made, it is but about the bounds and limits of this poſſibility. For example, to think that a man whoſe Baptiſm the crown of martyrdom preventeth, doth loſe in that caſe the happineſs which ſo many thouſands enjoy that only have had the grace to believe and not the honour to ſeal the teſtimony thereof with death, were almoſt barbarous. Again, when ſome certain opinionative men in St. Bernard's time began privately to hold that, becauſe our Lord hath ſaid, *unleſs a man be born again of water*, therefore life, without either actual Baptiſm, or martyrdom inſtead of Baptiſm,

T. C. lib. i. pag. 143.

Bern. Epiſt. lex. ad Hugonem.

[a] Pelagius aſſerere arrepta impietate præſumit non propter vitam, ſed propter regnum Cœlorum Baptiſmum parvulis conferendum. Euſeb. Emiſſ. Hom. v. de Paſch.

[b] Benignius leges interpretandæ ſunt, quo voluntas earum conſervetur. L. Benign. D. de Legib. et Sena. Tuſc.

cannot

cannot poſſibly be obtained at the hands of God; Bernard conſidering, that the ſame equity which had moved them to think the neceſſity of Baptiſm no bar againſt the happy eſtate of unbaptized martyrs, is as forcible for the warrant of their ſalvation, in whom, although there be not the ſufferings of holy martyrs, there are the virtues which ſanctified thoſe ſufferings, and made them precious in God's ſight, profeſſed himſelf an enemy to that ſeverity and ſtrictneſs which admitteth no exception but of martyrs only. For, ſaith he, if a man deſirous of Baptiſm be ſuddenly cut off by death, in whom there wanted neither ſound faith, devout hope, nor ſincere charity, (God be merciful unto me, and pardon me if I err,) but verily of ſuch a one's ſalvation, in whom there is no other defect beſides his faultleſs lack of Baptiſm, deſpair I cannot, nor induce my mind to think his faith void, his hope confounded, and his charity fallen to nothing, only becauſe he hath not that which not contempt but impoſſibility withholdeth. *Tell me, I beſeech you,* (ſaith Ambroſe,) *what there is in any of us more than to will, and to ſeek for our own good. Thy ſervant Valentinian, O Lord, did both.* (For Valentinian the Emperor died before his purpoſe to receive Baptiſm could take effect.) *And is it poſſible, that he which had purpoſely thy Spirit given him to deſire grace, ſhould not receive thy grace which that Spirit did deſire? Doth it move you that the outward accuſtomed ſolemnities were not done? As though converts that ſuffer martyrdom before Baptiſm did thereby forfeit their right to the crown of eternal glory in the kingdom of Heaven. If the blood of martyrs in that caſe be their Baptiſm, ſurely his religious deſire of Baptiſm ſtandeth him in the ſame ſtead.* [a] It

BOOK V.

[a] Qui ad tolerandam omnem pro Dei gloria injuriam ſemel dicavit animum in Martyrium, mihi videtur impleviſſe. Summi ergo meriti eſt ſemel fixiſſe ſententiam, atque ideo, ut dixi, ratio principatum obtinet paſſionis, et ſi ſors perpetiendi deneget facultatem, pertulit tamen cuncta quæ voluit pati. Joſeph. lib. de Imper. Ration.

hath

BOOK V. hath been therefore conſtantly held as well touching other believers, as martyrs, that Baptiſm, taken away by neceſſity, is ſupplied by deſire of Baptiſm, becauſe with equity this opinion doth beſt ſtand. Touching infants which die unbaptized, ſith they neither have this Sacrament itſelf, nor any ſenſe or conceit thereof, the judgment of many hath gone hard againſt them. But yet ſeeing grace is not abſolutely tied unto Sacraments; and beſides, ſuch is the lenity of God, that unto things altogether impoſſible he bindeth no man, but, where we cannot do what is enjoined us, accepteth our will to do inſtead of the deed itſelf; again, foraſmuch as there is in their Chriſtian parents, and in the Church of God, a preſumed deſire, that the Sacrament of Baptiſm might be given them, yea, a purpoſe alſo that it ſhall be given; remorſe of equity hath moved divers of the [a] School-Divines in theſe conſiderations, ingenuouſly to grant, that God, all-merciful to ſuch as are not in themſelves able to deſire Baptiſm, imputeth the ſecret deſire that others have in their behalf, and accepteth the ſame as theirs, rather than caſteth away their ſouls for that which no man is able to help. And of the will of God to impart his grace unto infants without Baptiſm in that caſe, the very circumſtance of their natural birth may ſerve as a juſt argument; whereupon it is not to be miſliked, that men in charitable preſumption do gather a great likelihood of their ſalvation, to whom the benefit of Chriſtian parentage being given, the reſt that ſhould follow is prevented by ſome ſuch caſualty, as man hath himſelf no power to avoid. For, we are plainly taught of God, that the ſeed of faithful parentage is holy from the very birth. Which albeit we may not ſo underſtand, as if the children

1 Cor. vii. 14.

[a] Gerſ. Serm. in Nativit. Beatæ Mar. Cajetan. in 3. Tho. ix. 68. Art. 1. et 2. Biel. in 4. Senten. d. 4. q. 2. Tilman. Segeberg. de Sacr. cap. 1. Eliſius Neapol. in Clyp. adverſ. Hæreſ. cap. de Baptiſ.

of

of believing parents were without ſin; or grace from baptized parents derived by propagation; or God, by covenant and promiſe, tied to ſave any in mere regard of their parents' belief; yet ſeeing, that to all profeſſors of the name of Chriſt this pre-eminence above Infidels is freely given, that the fruit of their bodies bringeth into the world with it a preſent intereſt and right to thoſe means wherewith the ordinance of Chriſt is that his Church ſhall be ſanctified, it is not to be thought that he which, as it were, from Heaven, hath nominated and deſigned them unto holineſs by ſpecial privilege of their very birth, will himſelf deprive them of regeneration and inward grace, only becauſe neceſſity depriveth them of outward Sacraments. In which caſe, it were the part of charity to hope, and to make men rather partial than cruel judges, if we had not thoſe fair appearances which here we have. Wherefore a neceſſity there is of receiving, and a neceſſity of adminiſtering the Sacrament of Baptiſm; the one peradventure not ſo abſolute as ſome have thought, but out of all peradventure the other more ſtrait and narrow than that the Church, which is by office a mother unto ſuch as crave at her hands the ſacred myſtery of their new birth, ſhould repel them, and ſee them die unſatisfied of theſe their ghoſtly deſires, rather than give them their ſoul's rights with omiſſion of thoſe things which ſerve but only for the more convenient and orderly adminiſtration thereof. For as on the one ſide we grant, that thoſe ſentences of holy Scripture which make Sacraments moſt neceſſary to eternal life are no prejudice to their ſalvation that want them by ſome inevitable neceſſity, and without any fault of their own, [a] ſo it ought, in reaſon, to be likewiſe acknow- BOOK V.

[a] T. C. l. iii. p. 218. It is in queſtion, whether there be any ſuch neceſſity of Baptiſm, as that, for the miniſtering thereof, the common decent orders ſhould be broken.

ledged,

BOOK V. ledged, that foraſmuch as our Lord himſelf maketh Baptiſm neceſſary, neceſſary whether we reſpect the good received by Baptiſm, or the teſtimony thereby yielded unto God of that humility and meek obedience, which repoſing wholly itſelf on the abſolute authority of his commandment, and on the truth of his heavenly promiſe, doubteth not but from creatures deſpicable in their own condition and ſubſtance to obtain grace of ineſtimable value; or rather not from them, but from him, yet by them, as by his appointed means. Howſoever he, by the ſecret ways of his own incomprehenſible mercy, may be thought to ſave without Baptiſm, this cleareth not the Church from guiltineſs of blood, if, through her ſuperfluous ſcrupuloſity, lets and impediments of leſs regard ſhould cauſe a grace of ſo great moment to be withheld, wherein our mercileſs ſtrictneſs may be our own harm, though not theirs towards whom we ſhew it; and we for the hardneſs of our hearts may periſh, albeit they through God's unſpeakable mercy do live. God, which did not afflict that innocent whoſe circumciſion Moſes had over-long deferred, took revenge upon Moſes himſelf for the injury which was done through ſo great neglect; giving us thereby to underſtand, that they, whom God's own mercy ſaveth without us, are on our parts notwithſtanding, and as much as in us lieth, even deſtroyed, when under unſufficient pretences we defraud them of ſuch ordinary outward helps as we ſhould exhibit. We have for Baptiſm no day ſet, as the Jews had for circumciſion; neither have we by the Law of God, but only by the Churches' diſcretion, a place thereunto appointed. Baptiſm therefore even in the meaning of the Law of Chriſt belongeth unto infants capable thereof from the [a] very inſtant of their birth. Which if they have not howſoever, rather than loſe it by

Exod. iv. 24.

[a] In omnibus obligationibus in quibus dies non ponitur, præſenti die debetur. Lib. xiv. D. de Reg. Jur.

being

being put off becauſe the time, the place, or ſome ſuch like circumſtance doth not ſolemnly enough concur, the Church, as much as in her lieth, wilfully caſteth away their ſouls.

What things in Baptiſm have been diſpenſed with by the Fathers, reſpecting neceſſity.

61. The ancients, it may be, were too ſevere, and made the neceſſity of Baptiſm more abſolute than reaſon would, as touching infants. But will [a] any man ſay, that they, notwithſtanding their too much rigour herein, did not in that reſpect ſuſtain and tolerate defects of local, or of perſonal ſolemnities belonging to the Sacrament of Baptiſm? The Apoſtles themſelves did neither uſe nor appoint for Baptiſm any certain time. The Church for general Baptiſm heretofore made choice of two chief days in the year, the feaſt of Eaſter, and the feaſt of Pentecoſt. Which cuſtom when certain Churches in Sicily began to violate without cauſe, they were by Leo Biſhop of Rome adviſed, rather to conform themſelves to the reſt of the world in things ſo reaſonable, than to offend men's minds through needleſs ſingularity; howbeit, always providing, that nevertheleſs in apparent peril of death, danger

Leo. Epiſt. iv. ad Epiſc. Sicil.

[a] T. C. lib. i. pag. 146. The authors themſelves of that error, that they cannot be ſaved which are not baptized, did never ſeek a remedy of the miſchief in women's or private Baptiſm. T. C. lib. iii. p. 219. What plainer teſtimony can there be than that of Auguſtine? which noteth the uſe of the Church to have been, to come to the Church with their children in danger of death, and that when ſome had opinion that their children could not be ſaved if they were not baptized. Cont. Lit. Parm. lib. ii. cap. 13. I would alſo know of him what he will anſwer to that which is noted of a Chriſtian Jew deſperately ſick of the palſy, that was with his bed carried to the place of Baptiſm. Socr. lib. vii. cap. 4. What will he anſwer to this? that thoſe which were baptized in their beds, were thereby made unapt to have any place amongſt the Clergy, (as they call them,) doth it not leave a note of infamy in thoſe which had procured that Baptiſm ſhould be adminiſtered in private houſes? Euſeb. lib. vi. cap. 43. What unto the Emperor's decree, which, upon authority of the ancient laws, and of the Apoſtles, forbiddeth, that the holy things ſhould be adminiſtered in any man's houſe? Juſt. Novel. 57.

of

BOOK V. of ſiege, ſtraits of perſecution, fear of ſhipwreck, and the like exigents, no reſpects of time ſhould cauſe this ſingular defence of true ſafety to be denied unto any. This of Leo did but confirm that ſentence which Victor had many years before given, extending the ſame exception as well unto places as times. That which St. Auguſtine ſpeaketh of women haſting to bring their children to the Church when they ſaw danger, is a weak proof, that when neceſſity did not leave them ſo much time, it was not then permitted them neither to make a Church of their own home. Which anſwer diſchargeth likewiſe their example of a ſick Jew carried in a bed to the place of Baptiſm, and not baptized at home in private. The cauſe why ſuch kind of Baptiſm barred men afterwards from entering into holy orders, the reaſon wherefore it was objected againſt Novatian, in what reſpect, and how far forth it did diſable, may be gathered by the twelfth Canon ſet down in the Council of Neocæſarea after this manner. *A man which hath been baptized in ſickneſs, is not after to be ordained prieſt.* For it may be thought, *That ſuch do rather at that time, becauſe they ſee no other remedy than of a voluntary mind, lay hold on the Chriſtian faith, unleſs their true and ſincere meaning be made afterwards the more manifeſt, or elſe the ſcarcity of others enforce the Church to admit them.* They bring in Juſtinian's imperial Conſtitution, but to what purpoſe? Seeing it only forbiddeth men to have the myſteries of God adminiſtered in their private chapels, leſt under that pretence Heretics ſhould do ſecretly thoſe things which were unlawful. In which conſideration he therefore commandeth, that if they would uſe thoſe private oratories otherwiſe than only for their private prayers, the Biſhop ſhould appoint them a clerk whom they might entertain for that purpoſe. This is plain by later Conſtitutions made in the time of Leo: *It was thought good,* ſaith the Emperor, *in their judgment which have gone before, that in private chapels none ſhould celebrate the holy Communion but prieſts*

Vict. Ep. ad Theoph. Alexand. in Pontif. Damaſc.

Leo. Conſt. iv.

prieſts belonging unto greater churches. Which order they took as it ſeemeth for the cuſtody of Religion, leſt men ſhould ſecretly receive from Heretics, inſtead of the food, the bane of their ſouls, pollution in the place of expiation. Again, *Whereas a ſacred Canon of the ſixth reverend Synod requireth Baptiſm, as others have likewiſe the holy ſacrifices and myſteries, to be celebrated only in temples hallowed for public uſe, and not in private oratories; which ſtrict decrees appear to have been made heretofore in regard of Heretics which entered cloſely into ſuch men's houſes as favoured their opinions, whom, under colour of performing with them ſuch religious offices, they drew from the ſoundneſs of true Religion: now that perverſe opinions, through the grace of Almighty God, are extinct and gone, the cauſe of former reſtraints being taken away, we ſee no reaſon but that private oratories may henceforward enjoy that liberty, which to have granted them heretofore had not been ſafe.* In ſum, all theſe things alleged are nothing, nor will it ever be proved while the world doth continue, but that the practice of the Church in caſes of extreme neceſſity hath made for private Baptiſm always more than againſt it. Yea, *Baptiſm by any man, in the caſe of neceſſity*, was the [a] voice of the whole world heretofore. Neither is Tertullian, Epiphanius, Auguſtine [b], or any other of the ancients againſt it. The boldneſs of ſuch, as, pretending Tecla's example, took openly upon them both Baptiſm and all other public functions of prieſthood, Tertullian ſeverely controlleth, ſaying,

Leo. Conſt. xv.

Tertul. de Virgin. veland. & lib. de Baptiſ. Epipha. lib. i. & lib. ii. cont. Hæreſ. Tertul. de Bapt.

[a] T. C. lib. i. pag. 145. To allow of women's baptizing is not only contrary to the learned writers now, but alſo contrary to all learned antiquity, and contrary to the practice of the Church whilſt there was any tolerable eſtate.

[b] St. Auguſtine, although he ſeem to allow of a Layman's Baptiſm in time of neceſſity, Cont. Epiſt. Parmen. lib. ii. cap. 13; yet there he mentioneth not Women's Baptiſm; and in the fourth council of Carthage, cap. c. it is ſimply, without exception, decreed, that a Woman ought not to baptize.

BOOK V. *To give Baptiſm is in truth the Biſhop's right. After him it belongeth unto Prieſts and Deacons; but not to them without authority from him received. For ſo the honour of the Church requireth, which, being kept, preſerveth peace. Were it not in this reſpect, the Laity might do the ſame; all ſorts might give, even as all ſorts receive.* But becauſe emulation is the mother of ſchiſms, *Let it content thee* (which art of the order of Laymen) *to do it in neceſſity, when the ſtate of time, or place, or perſon thereunto compelleth. For then is their boldneſs privileged that help, when the circumſtance of other men's dangers craveth it.* What he granteth generally to layperſons of the houſe of God, the ſame we cannot ſuppoſe he denieth to any ſort or ſex contained under that name, unleſs himſelf did reſtrain the limits of his own ſpeech; eſpecially ſeeing that Tertullian's rule of interpretation is [a] elſewhere, *Specialties are ſignified under that which is general, becauſe they are therein comprehended.* All which Tertullian doth [b] deny is, that women may be called to bear, or publickly take upon them to execute offices of Eccleſiaſtical Order, whereof none but men are capable. As for Epiphanius, he ſtriketh on the very ſelf-ſame anvil with Tertullian: and in neceſſity, if St. Auguſtine alloweth as much unto Laymen as Tertullian doth, his not mentioning of women is but a ſlender proof that his meaning was to exclude women. Finally, the Council of Carthage likewiſe, although it make no expreſs ſubmiſſion, may be very well preſumed willing to ſtoop, as other poſitive Ordinances do, to the countermands of neceſſity. Judge therefore what the ancients would have thought, if in their days it had

cap. xviii. p. 231. ed. Par.

[a] Subjectum eſt generali ſpeciale. In ipſo ſignificatur, quia in ipſo continetur. Tertul. de veland. Virg. Poſito genere, ſupponitur ſpecies. Aug. in lib. ii. cap. de Tranſact.

[b] Non permittitur mulieri in eccleſia loqui, ſed nec docere, nec tingere, nec offerre, nec ullius virilis muneris nedum ſacerdotalis officii ſortem ſibi vendicare. Tertul. de veland. Virg.

been

been heard, which is publiſhed in ours[a], that becauſe *the ſubſtance of the Sacrament doth chiefly depend on the Inſtitution of God, which is the form and as it were the life of the Sacrament*; therefore firſt, *if the whole Inſtitution be not kept, it is no Sacrament*; and ſecondly, if Baptiſm be private, his Inſtitution is broken, in as much as, *according to the Orders which he hath ſet for Baptiſm, it ſhould be done in the congregation*; from whoſe Ordinance in this point *we ought not to ſwerve, although we know that infants ſhould be aſſuredly damned without Baptiſm.* O Sir, you that would ſpurn thus at ſuch, as in caſe of ſo dreadful extremity ſhould lie proſtrate before your feet; you that would turn away your face from them at the hour of their moſt need; you that would dam up your ears and harden your hearts as iron againſt the unreſiſtible cries of ſuppli-cants, calling upon you for mercy with terms of ſuch invocation as that moſt dreadful perplexity might miniſter, if God by miracle did open the mouths of infants to expreſs their ſuppoſed neceſſity, ſhould firſt imagine yourſelf in their caſe, and them in yours. This done, let their ſupplications proceed out of your mouth, and your anſwer out of theirs. Would you then contentedly hear, *My Son, the rites and ſolemnities of Baptiſm muſt be kept; we may not do ill, that good may come of it*[b]; *neither are ſouls to be delivered from eternal death and condemnation, by breaking* BOOK V.

[a] T. C. lib. i. pag. 144. The ſubſtance of the Sacrament dependeth chiefly of the Inſtitution and Word of God, which is the form, and, as it were, the life of the Sacrament. T. C. lib. i. pag. 144. Although part of the Inſtitution be obſerved, yet if the whole Inſtitution be not, it is no Sacrament. T. C. lib. i. pag. 146. The Orders, which God hath ſet, are, that it ſhould be done in the congregation, and by the miniſter. T. C. lib. i. pag. 146. And I will further ſay, that although the infants which die without Baptiſm ſhould be aſſuredly damned, (which is moſt falſe,) yet ought not the Orders which God hath ſet in his Church to be broken after this ſort.

[b] Noſtro peccato alterius ſaluti conſulere non debemus. Aug. lib. cont. Mend. cap. xvii.

BOOK V.

Orders which Chriſt hath ſet: would you in their caſe yourſelf be ſhaken off with theſe anſwers, and not rather embrace, incloſed with both your arms, a ſentence, which now is no Goſpel unto you, *I will have mercy and not ſacrifice?* To acknowledge Chriſt's Inſtitution the ground of both Sacraments, I ſuppoſe no Chriſtian man will refuſe; for it giveth them their very nature, it appointeth the matter whereof they conſiſt, the form of their adminiſtration it teacheth, and it bleſſeth them with that grace whereby to us they are both pledges and inſtruments of life. Nevertheleſs, ſeeing Chriſt's Inſtitution containeth, beſides that which maketh complete the eſſence or nature, other things that only are parts, as it were, of the furniture of Sacraments; the difference between theſe two muſt unfold that which the general terms of indefinite ſpeech would confound. If the place appointed for Baptiſm be a part of Chriſt's Inſtitution, it is but his Inſtitution as ſacrifice, Baptiſm his Inſtitution as mercy: in this caſe, he which requireth both mercy and ſacrifice, rejecteth his own Inſtitution of ſacrifice, where the offering of ſacrifice would hinder mercy from being ſhewed. External circumſtances, even in the holieſt and higheſt actions, are but the *leſſer things of the Law*, whereunto thoſe actions themſelves being compared, are the greater; and therefore as the greater are of ſuch importance, that they muſt be done, ſo in that extremity before ſuppoſed, if our account of the leſſer which are not to be omitted, ſhould cauſe omiſſion of that which is more to be accounted of, were not this our ſtrict obedience to Chriſt's Inſtitution touching mint and cummin, a diſobedience to his Inſtitution concerning love? But ſith no Inſtitution of Chriſt hath ſo ſtrictly tied Baptiſm to public aſſemblies, as it hath done all men unto Baptiſm, away with theſe mercileſs and bloody ſentences, let them never be found ſtanding in the books and writings of a Chriſtian man; they favour not of Chriſt, nor of his moſt gracious and meek Spirit,

Matth. ix. 13.

Matth. xxiii. 23.

Spirit, but under colour of exact obedience they nourish cruelty and hardness of heart.

Whether Baptism by women be true Baptism, good and effectual to them that receive it.

62. To leave private Baptism therefore, and to come unto Baptism by women, which they say [a] is no more a Sacrament, than any other ordinary washing or bathing of a man's body: the reason whereupon they ground their opinion herein is such, as making Baptism by women void because women are no ministers in the Church of God, must needs generally annihilate the Baptism of all unto whom their conceit shall apply this exception, whether it be in regard of sex, of quality, of insufficiency, or whatsoever. For if want of calling do frustrate Baptism, they that baptize without calling do nothing, be they women or men. To make women teachers in the House of God, were a gross absurdity, seeing the Apostle hath said, *I permit not a woman to teach.* And again, *Let your women in Churches be silent.* Those extraordinary gifts of speaking with tongues and prophesying, which God at that time did not only bestow upon men, but on women also, made it the harder to hold them confined within private bounds; whereupon the Apostle's Ordinance was necessary against women's public admission to teach. And because, when law hath begun some one thing or other well, it giveth good occasion either to draw by judicious exposition out of the very law itself, or to annex to the law by authority and jurisdiction things of like conveniency, therefore Clement extendeth this Apostolic Constitution to Baptism. *For* (saith he) *if we have denied them leave to teach, how should any man dispense with nature, and make them ministers of holy things; seeing this unskilfulness is a part of the Grecians' impiety, which for the service of women-goddesses have*

1 Tim. ii. 12. 1 Cor. xiv. 34.

Clem. Const. Apostol. lib. iii. cap. 9. in Patr. Apostol. tom. i. p. 284. ed. Antwerp.

[a] T. C. l. i. p. 144. On this point, whether he be a minister, or no, dependeth not only the dignity, but also the being of the Sacrament. So that I take the Baptism of women to be no more the holy Sacrament of Baptism, than any other daily or ordinary washing of the child.

BOOK V. *women-prieſts?* I ſomewhat marvel, that men, which would not willingly be thought to ſpeak or write but with good conſcience, dare hereupon openly avouch Clement for a witneſs, *That as, when the Church began not only to decline, but to fall away from the ſincerity of Religion, it borrowed a number of other profanations of the Heathens; ſo it borrowed this, and would needs have women-prieſts, as the Heathens had; and that this was one occaſion of bringing Baptiſm by women into the Church of God.* Is it not plain in their own eyes, that firſt, by an evidence which forbiddeth women to be miniſters of Baptiſm, they endeavour to ſhew how women were admitted unto that function in the wane and declination of Chriſtian piety? Secondly, that by an evidence rejecting the Heathens, and condemning them of impiety, they would prove ſuch affection towards Heathens as ordereth the affairs of the Church by the pattern of their example: and, thirdly, that out of an evidence which nameth the Heathens as being in ſome part a reaſon why the Church had no women-prieſts, they gather the Heathens to have been one of the firſt occaſions why it had? So that throughout every branch of this teſtimony their iſſue is yea; and their evidence directly no. But to women's Baptiſm in private by occaſion of urgent neceſſity, the reaſons that only concern ordinary Baptiſm in public are no juſt prejudice; neither can we by force thereof diſprove the practice of thoſe Churches which (neceſſity requiring) allow Baptiſm in private to be adminiſtered by women. We may not, from laws that prohibit any thing with reſtraint, conclude abſolute and unlimited prohibitions; although we deny not, but they which utterly forbid ſuch Baptiſm, may have perhaps wherewith to juſtify their orders againſt it. For even things lawful[a] are well prohibited, when there

T. C. l. i. p. 144.

[a] Licita prohibentur, ne ſi permitterentur, eorum occaſione perveniatur ad illicita. Lib. neque tamen. Juſt. de Aſuth. Tut. lib. Officium. D. de Rei Vind.

is

is fear leſt they make the way to unlawful more eaſy. And it may be the liberty of Baptiſm by women at ſuch times doth ſometimes embolden the raſher ſort to do it where no ſuch neceſſity is. But whether of permiſſion beſides law, or in preſumption againſt law, they do it, is it thereby altogether fruſtrate, void, and as though it were never given? They which have not at the firſt their right Baptiſm muſt of neceſſity be re-baptized, becauſe the law of Chriſt tieth all men to receive Baptiſm. Iteration of Baptiſm once given hath been always thought a manifeſt contempt of that ancient Apoſtolic aphoriſm, *One Lord, one Faith, one Baptiſm:* Baptiſm not only one, inaſmuch as it hath every where the ſame ſubſtance, and offereth unto all men the ſame grace; but one alſo, for that it ought not to be received by any one man above once. We ſerve that Lord which is but one, becauſe no other can be joined with him: we embrace that Faith which is but one, becauſe it admitteth no innovation: that Baptiſm we receive which is but one, becauſe it cannot be received often. For how ſhould we practiſe iteration of Baptiſm, and yet teach, that we are by Baptiſm born anew, that by Baptiſm we are admitted unto the heavenly ſociety of Saints, that thoſe things be really and effectually done by Baptiſm, which are no more poſſible to be often done [a] than a man can naturally be often born, or civilly be often adopted into any one ſtock and family? This alſo is the cauſe, why they that preſent us unto Baptiſm are entitled for ever after our parents in God, and

BOOK V.

Epheſ. iv. 5.

[a] Una eſt Nativitas de terra, alia de cœlo; una de carne, alia de Spiritu; una de æternitate, alia de mortalitate; una de maſculo et fœmina, alia de Deo et Eccleſia. Sed ipſæ duæ ſingulares ſunt. Quo modo enim uterus non poteſt repeti, ſic nec Baptiſmus iterari. Proſp. Senten. 331. Eja fratres, lacteum genitalis fontis ad laticem convolate, ut ſemper vobis aqua ſufficiat, hoc ante omnia ſcientes quod hanc nec effundere licet nec rurſus haurire. Zenoph. Invit. ad Font.

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the reaſon why there we receive new names, in token, that by Baptiſm we are made new creatures. As Chriſt hath therefore died and riſen from the dead but once, ſo that Sacrament which both extinguiſheth in him our former ſin, and beginneth in us a new condition of life, is by one only actual adminiſtration for ever available; according to that in the Nicene Creed, *I believe one Baptiſm for remiſſion of ſins.* And becauſe ſecond Baptiſm was ever abhorred in the Church of God as a kind of inceſtuous birth, they that iterate Baptiſm are driven under ſome pretence or other to make the former Baptiſm void. Tertullian, the firſt that propoſed to the Church; Agrippinus, the firſt in the Church that accepted, and againſt the uſe of the Church; Novatianus, the firſt that publickly began to practiſe rebaptization, did it therefore upon theſe two grounds: a true perſuaſion that Baptiſm is neceſſary, and a falſe, that the Baptiſm which others adminiſtered was no Baptiſm. Novatianus's conceit was, that none can adminiſter true Baptiſm but the true Church of Jeſus Chriſt; that he and his followers alone were the Church; and for the reſt, he accounted them wicked and profane perſons, ſuch as by Baptiſm could cleanſe no man, unleſs they firſt did purify themſelves, and reform the faults wherewith he charged them. At which time St. Cyprian, with the greateſt part of African Biſhops, becauſe they likewiſe thought that none but only the true Church of God can baptize, and were of nothing more certainly perſuaded than that Heretics are as rotten branches cut off from the life and body of the true Church, gathered hereby that the Church of God both may with good conſideration, and ought to reverſe that Baptiſm which is given by Heretics. Theſe held and practiſed their own opinion; yet with great proteſtations often made, that they neither loved a whit the leſs, nor thought in any reſpect the worſe of them that were of a contrary mind. In requital

Auguſt. de Bapt. cont. Don. lib. ii. cap. 14.

Tert. de Bapt. Cypr. Epiſt. 71.

Euſeb. lib. vii. cap. 1, 2, 3. Cypr. Epiſt. 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76.

requital of which ingenuous moderation, the reſt that withſtood them did it in a peaceable ſort, with very good regard had of them, as of men in error, but not in hereſy. The Biſhop of Rome againſt their novelties upheld, as beſeemed him, the ancient and true Apoſtolic cuſtoms, till they which unadviſedly before had erred became in a manner all[a] reconciled friends unto truth, and ſaw that hereſy in the miniſters of Baptiſm could no way evacuate the force thereof; [b] ſuch hereſy alone excepted, as, by reaſon of unſoundneſs in the higheſt articles of Chriſtian Faith, preſumed to change, and by changing to maim, the ſubſtance, the form of Baptiſm. In which reſpect, the Church did neither ſimply diſannul nor abſolutely ratify Baptiſm by Heretics. For the Baptiſm which Novatianiſts gave ſtood firm, whereas they whom Samoſatenians had baptized were re-baptized. It was likewiſe ordered in the Council of Arles, that if any Arian did reconcile himſelf to the Church, they ſhould admit him without new Baptiſm, unleſs by examination they found him not baptized in the name of the Trinity. Dionyſius, Biſhop of Alexandria, maketh report, how there lived under him a man of good reputation and of very ancient continuance in that Church, who being preſent at the rites of Baptiſm, and obſerving with better conſideration than ever before, what was there done, came and with weeping ſubmiſſion craved of

Synod. Nicæ. cap. 19.

Synod. i. Arelat. cap. 8.

Euſeb. Pamphil. Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. vii. cap. 8.

[a] Illi ipſi Epiſcopi qui rebaptizandos Hæreticos cum Cypriano ſtatuerant, ad antiquam conſuetudinem revoluti novum emiſere decretum. Hieron. cont. Lucifer. Vide et Auguſt. contr. Creſcon. lib. iii. cap. 2, 3. et Epiſt. 48.

[b] Dixiſti fieri non poſſe ut in falſo Baptiſmate inquinatus abluat, immundus emundet, ſupplantator erigat, perditus liberet, reus veniam tribuat, damnatus abſolvat. Bene hæc omnia poterunt ad ſolos Hæreticos pertinere, qui falſaverunt Symbolum, dum alter dixerit duos Deos cum Deus unus ſit, alter Patrem vult in perſona Filii cognoſci, alter carnem ſubducens Filio Dei per quam Deo reconciliatus eſt mundus: et cæteri hujuſmodi, qui a Sacramentis Catholicis alieni eſſe noſcuntur. Optat. lib. i.

his

BOOK V. his Biſhop not to deny him Baptiſm, the due of all which profeſs Chriſt, ſeeing it had been ſo long ſithence his evil hap to be deceived by the fraud of Heretics, and at their hands (which till now he never throughly and duly weighed) to take a Baptiſm full fraught with blaſphemous impieties, a Baptiſm in nothing like unto that which the true Church of Chriſt uſeth. The Biſhop was greatly moved thereat, yet durſt not adventure to re-baptize, but did the beſt he could to put him in good comfort, uſing much perſuaſion with him not to trouble himſelf with things that were paſt and gone, nor after ſo long continuance in the fellowſhip of God's people to call now in queſtion his firſt entrance. The poor man that ſaw himſelf in this ſort anſwered, but not ſatisfied, ſpent afterwards his life in continual perplexity, whereof the Biſhop remained fearful to give releaſe; perhaps too fearful, if the Baptiſm were ſuch as his own declaration importeth. For that, the ſubſtance whereof was rotten at the very firſt, is never by tract of time able to recover ſoundneſs; and where true Baptiſm was not before given, the caſe of re-baptization is clear. But by this it appeareth, that Baptiſm is not void in regard of hereſy; and therefore much leſs through any other moral defect in the miniſter thereof. Under which ſecond pretence, Donatiſts notwithſtanding took upon them to make fruſtrate the Church's Baptiſm, and themſelves to re-baptize their own fry. For whereas ſome forty years after the martyrdom of
Circa An. 300. bleſſed Cyprian, the Emperor Diocleſian began to perſecute the Church of Chriſt, and for the ſpeedier aboliſhment of their religion to burn up their ſacred books; there were in the Church itſelf traditors, content to deliver up the books of God by compoſition, to the end their own lives might be ſpared. Which men growing thereby odious to the reſt, whoſe conſtancy was greater; it fortuned that after, when one Cecilian was ordained Biſhop in the Church

Church of Carthage, whom others endeavoured in vain to defeat by excepting againſt him as a traditor, they whoſe accuſations could not prevail, deſperately joined themſelves in one, and made a Biſhop of their own crew, accounting from that day forward, their faction the only true and ſincere Church. The firſt Biſhop on that part was Majorinus, whoſe ſucceſſor Donatus being the firſt that wrote in defence of their ſchiſm, the birds that were hatched before by others have their names from him. Arians and Donatiſts began both about one time; which hereſies, according to the different ſtrength of their own ſinews, wrought as hope of ſucceſs led them; the one with the choiceſt wits, the other with the multitude, ſo far that, after long and troubleſome experience, the perfecteſt view men could take of both was hardly able to induce any certain determinate reſolution whether error may do more by the curious ſubtilty of ſharp diſcourſe, or elſe by the mere appearance of zeal and devout affection; the latter of which two aids gave Donatiſts, beyond all men's expectation, as great a ſway as ever any ſchiſm or hereſy had within that reach of the Chriſtian world, where it bred and grew; the rather perhaps, becauſe the Church, which neither greatly feared them, and beſides had neceſſary cauſe to bend itſelf againſt others that aimed directly at a far higher mark, the Deity of Chriſt, was contented to let Donatiſts have their courſe by the ſpace of threeſcore years and above, even from ten years before Conſtantine till the time that Optatus, Biſhop of Milevis, publiſhed his books againſt Parmenian. During which term, and the ſpace of that ſchiſm's continuance afterwards, they had, beſides many other ſecular and worldly means to help them forward, theſe ſpecial advantages; firſt, the very occaſion of their breach with the Church of God, a juſt hatred and diſlike of traditors, ſeemed plauſible; they eaſily perſuaded their hearers that ſuch

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Circa An. 370.

BOOK V. ſuch men could not be holy as held communion and fellowſhip with them that betrayed Religion: again, when, to dazzle the eyes of the ſimple, and to prove that it can be no Church which is not holy, they had in ſhew and ſound of words, the glorious pretence of the Creed Apoſtolic, *I believe the holy Catholic Church*, we need not think it any ſtrange thing that with the multitude they gained credit; and avouching that ſuch as are not of the true Church can adminiſter no true Baptiſm, they had for this point whole volumes of St. Cyprian's own writing, together with the judgments of divers African Synods, whoſe ſentence was the ſame with his. Whereupon, the Fathers were likewiſe in defence of their juſt cauſe very greatly prejudiced, both for that they could not enforce the duty of men's communion with a Church, confeſſed to be in many things blame-worthy, unleſs they ſhould oftentimes ſeem to ſpeak as half-defenders of the faults themſelves, or at the leaſt not ſo vehement accuſers thereof as their adverſaries; and to withſtand iteration of Baptiſm, the other branch of the Donatiſts' hereſy, was impoſſible, without manifeſt and profeſſed rejection of Cyprian, whom the world univerſally did in his life-time admire as the greateſt among prelates, and now honour as not the loweſt in the kingdom of Heaven. So true we find it by experience of all ages in the Church of God, that the teacher's error is the people's trial, harder and heavier by ſo much to bear, as he is in worth and regard greater that miſperſuadeth them. Although there was odds between Cyprian's cauſe and theirs, he differing from others of ſounder underſtanding in that point, but not dividing himſelf from the body of the Church by ſchiſm, as did the Donatiſts. For which cauſe, ſaith Vincentius, *Of one and the ſame opinion we judge (which may ſeem ſtrange) the authors Catholic and the followers hereſical; we acquit the maſters, and condemn the ſcholars; they are heirs of Heaven which have written*

Vincent. Lirin. adver. Hæreſ. cap. 11. p. 25. ed. Cantab.

written thoſe books, the defenders whereof are trodden down to the pit of hell. The invectives of Catholic writers therefore againſt them are ſharp; the words of imperial edicts by Honorius and Theodoſius, made to bridle them, very bitter, the puniſhments ſevere in revenge of their folly. Howbeit, for fear (as we may conjecture) leſt much ſhould be derogated from the Baptiſm of the Church, and Baptiſm by Donatiſts be more eſteemed of than was meet; if, on the one ſide, that which Heretics had done ill ſhould ſtand as good; on the other ſide, that be reverſed which the Catholic Church had well and religiouſly done; divers better minded than adviſed men thought it fitteſt to meet with this inconvenience by re-baptizing Donatiſts as well as they re-baptized Catholics. For ſtay whereof the ſame Emperors ſaw it meet to give their Law a double edge, whereby it might equally on both ſides cut off not only Heretics which re-baptized, whom they could pervert; but alſo Catholic and Chriſtian prieſts which did the like unto ſuch as before had taken Baptiſm at the hands of Heretics, and were afterwards reconciled to the Church of God. Donatiſts were therefore, in proceſs of time, though with much ado, wearied, and at length worn out by the conſtancy of that truth which teacheth that evil miniſters of good things are as torches, a light to others, a waſte to none but themſelves only; and that the foulneſs of their hands can neither any whit impair the virtue nor ſtain the glory of the myſteries of Chriſt. Now that which was done amiſs by virtuous and good men, (as Cyprian, carried aſide with hatred againſt hereſy,) and was ſecondly followed by Donatiſts whom envy and rancour, covered with ſhew of godlineſs, made obſtinate to cancel whatſoever the Church did in the Sacrament of Baptiſm, hath of later days, in another reſpect far different from both the former, been brought freſhly again into practice; for the Anabaptiſt re-baptizeth, becauſe,

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Vide C. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. 6. lib. Adverſariur. et lib. Nullus, circa An. 405.

Si quis C. Ne. Sanct. Baptiſ. circa An. 413.

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Numb. xvi. 10.
Levit. x. i.
1 Sam. xiii. 11.
2 Sam. vi. 6.
2 Chron. xxvi. 16.
Heb. v. 4.

and over-boldly intermeddle with duties whereof no charge was ever given them. They that in any thing exceed the compaſs of their own order, do as much as in them lieth to diſſolve that order which is the harmony of God's Church. Suppoſe, therefore, that in theſe and the like conſiderations, the Law did utterly prohibit Baptiſm to be adminiſtered by any other than perſons thereunto ſolemnly conſecrated, what neceſſity ſoever happen; are not [a] many things firm being done, although in part done otherwiſe than poſitive rigour and ſtrictneſs did require? Nature, as much as is poſſible, inclineth unto validities and preſervations. Diſſolutions and nullities of things done are not only not favoured, but hated, when either urged without cauſe, or extended beyond their reach. If therefore at any time it come to paſs, that in teaching publickly or privately, in delivering this bleſſed Sacrament of regeneration, ſome unſanctified hand, contrary to Chriſt's ſuppoſed Ordinance, do intrude itſelf to execute that whereunto the Laws of God and his Church have deputed others, which of theſe two opinions ſeemeth more agreeable with equity, ours that diſallow what is done amiſs, yet make not the force of the Word and Sacraments, much leſs their nature and very ſubſtance, to depend on the miniſter's authority and calling, or elſe [b] theirs which defeat, diſannul, and annihilate both, in reſpect of that one only perſonal defect, there being not any Law of God which ſaith, that if the miniſter be incompetent, his Word ſhall

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[a] 9. Q. ii. c. Lugdunenſis ex literis Decret. de Matrim. contract. Damaſc. Burch. Reg. 109. Prohibita fieri ſi fiant non tenent. In prohibitionibus autem circa res favorabiles, contrarium obtinet.

[b] T. C. lib. i. pag. 144. As St. Paul ſaith, That a man cannot preach which is not ſent, Rom. x. 15, no, not although he ſpeak the words of the Scripture, and interpret them; ſo I cannot ſee how a man can baptize unleſs he be ſent to that end, although he pour water, and rehearſe the words which are to be rehearſed in the miniſtry of Baptiſm.

be

BOOK V. be no Word, his Baptiſm no Baptiſm? He which teacheth and is not ſent, loſeth the reward, but yet retaineth the name of a teacher: his uſurped actions have in him the ſame nature which they have in others, although they yield not him the ſame comfort. And if theſe two caſes be peers, the caſe of Doctrine and the caſe of Baptiſm both alike; ſith no defect in their vocation that teach the truth is able to take away the benefit thereof from him which heareth, wherefore ſhould the want of a lawful calling in them that baptize make Baptiſm to be vain? [a] They grant, that the matter and the form in Sacraments are the only parts of ſubſtance, and that if theſe two be retained, albeit other things beſides be uſed which are inconvenient, the Sacrament notwithſtanding is adminiſtered, but not ſincerely. Why perſiſt they not in this opinion? When by theſe fair ſpeeches they have put us in hope of agreement, wherefore ſup they up their words again, interlacing ſuch frivolous interpretations and gloſſes as diſgrace their ſentence? What ſhould move them, having named the matter and the form of the Sacrament, to give us preſently warning, that they mean by the form of the Sacrament, the Inſtitution? Which expoſition darkeneth whatſoever was before plain. For whereas, in common underſtanding, that form which added to the element doth make a Sacrament, and is of the outward ſubſtance thereof, containeth only the words of uſual application, they ſet it down (leſt common dictionaries ſhould deceive us) that the form doth ſignify in their language, the Inſtitution; which Inſtitution in truth comprehendeth both form and matter. Such are their fumbling ſhifts to in-

T. C. lib. iii. pag. 117.

[a] T. C. lib. i. pag. 165. If either the matter of the Sacrament, or the form of it, which is the Inſtitution, (which things are only ſubſtantial parts,) were wanting, there ſhould then have been no Sacrament at all miniſtered. But they being retained, and yet other things uſed which are not convenient, the Sacrament is miniſtered, but not ſincerely.

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cloſe the miniſter's vocation within the compaſs of ſome eſſential part of the Sacrament. A thing that can never ſtand with ſound and ſincere conſtruction. For what if the miniſter be *no circumſtance, but a ſubordinate efficient cauſe in the work of Baptiſm?* What if the miniſter's vocation be a matter[a] *of perpetual neceſſity, and not a ceremony variable as times and occaſions require? What if his calling be a principal part of the Inſtitution of Chriſt?* Doth it therefore follow, that the miniſter's authority is[b] *of the ſubſtance of the Sacrament*, and as incident unto the nature thereof as the matter and the form itſelf, yea, more incident? For whereas, in caſe of neceſſity, the greateſt amongſt them profeſſeth the change of the element of water lawful, and others, which like not ſo well this opinion, could be better content that voluntarily the words of Chriſt's Inſtitution were altered, and men baptized in the name of Chriſt without either mention made of the Father or of the Holy Ghoſt; nevertheleſs, in denying that Baptiſm adminiſtered by private perſons ought to be reckoned of as a Sacrament, they both agree. It may therefore pleaſe them both to conſider, that Baptiſm is an action in part moral, in part eccleſiaſtical, and in part myſtical: moral, as being a duty which men perform towards God: eccleſiaſtical, in that it be-

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T. C. lib. iii. pag. 121.

[a] T. C. lib. iii. pag. 135. The miniſter is of the ſubſtance of the Sacrament, conſidering that it is a principal part of Chriſt's Inſtitution. Beza, Epiſt. ii. Deſit aqua, et tamen Baptiſmus alicujus differri cum ædificatione non poſſit, nec debeat; ego certe quovis alio liquore non minus rite quam aqua baptizarim.

[b] T. C. lib. iii. pag. 138. Shew me why the breach of the Inſtitution in the form ſhould make the Sacrament unavailable, and not the breach of this part, (which concerneth the miniſter.) T. C. ibid. Howſoever ſome learned and godly give ſome liberty in the change of the elements of the holy Sacrament; yet I do not ſee how that can ſtand. Idem, pag. 137. I would rather judge him baptized, who is baptized into the name of Chriſt, without adding the Father and the Holy Ghoſt, when the element of water is added, than when the other words being duly kept, ſome other liquor is uſed.

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defeat ſuch Baptiſm is, that thoſe things which have no being can work nothing; and that Baptiſm, without the power of ordination, is as a judgment without ſufficient juriſdiction, void, fruſtrate, and of no effect. But to this we anſwer, that the fruit of Baptiſm dependeth only upon the covenant which God hath made; that God by covenant requireth in the elder ſort, Faith and Baptiſm; in children, the Sacrament of Baptiſm alone, whereunto he hath alſo given them right by ſpecial privilege of birth within the boſom of the holy Church: that infants therefore which have received Baptiſm complete, as touching the myſtical perfection thereof, are by virtue of his own covenant and promiſe cleanſed from all ſin; foraſmuch as all other Laws, concerning that which in Baptiſm is either moral or eccleſiaſtical, do bind the Church which giveth Baptiſm, and not the infant which receiveth it of the Church. So that if any thing be therein amiſs, the harm which groweth by violation of holy ordinances muſt altogether reſt where the bonds of ſuch ordinances hold. For, that in actions of this nature it fareth not as in juriſdictions, may ſomewhat appear by the very opinion which men have of them. The nullity of that which a judge doth by way of authority without authority is known to all men, and agreed upon with full conſent of the whole world; every man receiveth it as a general edict of nature; whereas the nullity of Baptiſm, in regard of the like defect, is only a few men's new, ungrounded, and as yet unapproved imagination. Which difference of generality in men's perſuaſions on the one ſide, and their paucity whoſe conceit leadeth them the other way, hath riſen from a difference eaſy to obſerve in the things themſelves. The exerciſe of unauthorized juriſdiction is a grievance unto them that are under it, whereas they that without authority preſume to baptize, offer nothing but that which to all men is good and acceptable. Sacraments are food, and the miniſters

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iſters thereof as parents, or as nurſes; at whoſe hands, when there is neceſſity, but no poſſibility of receiving it, if that which they are not preſent to do in right of their office, be of pity and compaſſion done by others; ſhall this be thought to turn celeſtial bread into gravel, or the medicine of ſouls into poiſon? Juriſdiction is a yoke which Law hath impoſed on the necks of men in ſuch ſort, that they muſt endure it for the good of others, how contrary ſoever it be to their own particular appetites and inclinations. Juriſdiction bridleth men againſt their wills; that which a judge doth prevails by virtue of his very power; and therefore not without great reaſon, except the Law hath given him authority, whatſoever he doth vaniſheth. Baptiſm on the other ſide, being a favour which it pleaſeth God to beſtow, a benefit of ſoul to us that receive it, and a grace which they that deliver are but as mere veſſels, either appointed by others or offered of their own accord to this ſervice; of which two, if they be the one, it is but their own honour; their own offence to be the other: can it poſſibly ſtand with [a] equity and right, that the faultineſs of their preſumption in giving Baptiſm ſhould be able to prejudice us, who by taking Baptiſm have no way offended? I know there are many ſentences found in the books and writings of the ancient Fathers, to prove both eccleſiaſtical and alſo moral defects in the miniſter of Baptiſm a bar to the heavenly benefit thereof. Which ſentences we always ſo underſtand, as Auguſtine underſtood in a caſe of like nature the words of St. Cyprian. When infants baptized were, after their parents' revolt, carried by them in arms to the ſtews of Idols, thoſe wretched creatures, as St. Cyprian thought, were not only their own ruin, but their children's alſo: *Their chil-*

Auguſt. Epiſt. 23.

[a] Factum alterius alii nocere non debet. Ulp. lib. de Pupillo, ſect. Si plurimum. Item, Alphen. lib. Pater-familias. De Hære. Inſtit. Maleficia tenent Authores ſuos, non alios. Lib. Sancimus, 22. C. de Pœn.

dren,

dren, whom this their apoſtaſy profaned, *did loſe what Chriſtian Baptiſm had given them being newly born. They loſt* (ſaith St. Auguſtine) *the grace of Baptiſm, if we conſider to what their parents' impiety did tend*; although the mercy of God preſerved them, and will alſo in that dreadful day of account give them favourable audience, pleading in their own behalf, *The harm of other men's perfidiouſneſs it lay not in us to avoid.* After the ſame manner, whatſoever we read written, if it ſound to the prejudice of Baptiſm through any either moral or eccleſiaſtical defect therein, we conſtrue it as equity and reaſon teacheth, with reſtraint to the offender only; which doth, as far as concerneth himſelf and them which wittingly concur with him, make the Sacrament of God fruitleſs. St. Auguſtine's [a] doubtfulneſs, whether Baptiſm by a Layman may ſtand, or ought to be re-adminiſtered, ſhould not be mentioned by them which preſume to define peremptorily of that wherein he was content to profeſs himſelf unreſolved. Albeit, in very truth, his opinion is plain enough; but the manner of delivering his judgment being modeſt, they make of a virtue an imbecility, and impute his calmneſs of ſpeech to an irreſolution of mind. His diſputation in that place is againſt Parmenian, which held that a biſhop or a prieſt, if they fall into any hereſy, do thereby loſe the power which they had before to baptize; and that therefore Baptiſm by Heretics is merely void. For anſwer whereof, he firſt denieth that hereſy can more deprive men of power to baptize others, than it is of force to take from them their own Baptiſm; and in the ſecond place, he farther addeth, that if Heretics did loſe the power which before was given

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[a] T. C. lib. iii. pag. 136. Auguſtine ſtandeth in doubt, whether Baptiſm by a Layman be available or no. Cont. Lit. Pyrm. lib. ii. cap. 13. Where by all likelihood he was out of doubt, that that which was miniſtered by a woman, whoſe unaptneſs herein is double to that of a Layman, was of no effect.

BOOK V. them by ordination, and did therefore unlawfully uſurp as oft as they took upon them to give the Sacrament of Baptiſm, it followeth not, that Baptiſm by them adminiſtered without authority is no Baptiſm. For then what ſhould we think of Baptiſm by Laymen, to whom authority was never given? I doubt (ſaith St. Auguſtine) whether any man which carrieth a virtuous and godly mind will affirm, that the Baptiſm which Laymen do in caſe of neceſſity adminiſter ſhould be iterated; *For to do it unneceſſarily, is to execute another man's office; neceſſity urging, to do it is then either no fault at all,* (much leſs ſo grievous a crime that it ſhould deſerve to be termed by the name of Sacrilege [a],) *or, if any, a very pardonable fault. But ſuppoſe it even of very purpoſe uſurped, and given unto any man, by every man that liſteth; yet that which is given cannot poſſibly be denied to have been given, how truly ſoever we may ſay it hath not been given lawfully. Unlawful uſurpation, a penitent affection muſt redreſs. If not, the thing that was given ſhall remain to the hurt and detriment of him which unlawfully either adminiſtered or received the ſame; yet ſo, that in this reſpect it ought not to be reputed as if it had not at all been given.* Whereby we may plainly perceive, that St. Auguſtine was not himſelf uncertain what to think, but doubtful whether any well-minded man in the whole world could think otherwiſe than he did. Their argument taken from a ſtolen ſeal [b] may return to the place out of which they had

[a] T. C. l. i. p. 116. The ſacrilege of private perſons, women eſpecially, in adminiſtering the holy Sacrament of Baptiſm.

[b] T. C. lib. iii. p. 139. As by the ſeal which the prince hath ſet apart to ſeal his grants with, when it is ſtolen and ſet to by him that hath no authority, there groweth no aſſurance to the party that hath it; ſo if it were poſſible to be the ſeal of God which a woman ſhould ſet to, yet for that ſhe hath ſtolen it, and put it to, not only without, but contrary to the commandment of God, I ſee not how any can take any aſſurance by reaſon thereof.

it,

it, for it helpeth their cauſe nothing. That which men give or grant to others, muſt appear to have proceeded of their own accord. This being manifeſt, their gifts and grants are thereby made effectual, both to bar themſelves from revocation, and to aſſecure the right they have given. Wherein for further prevention of miſchiefs that otherwiſe might grow by the malice, treachery, and fraud of men, it is both equal and meet that the ſtrength of men's deeds and the inſtruments which declare the ſame ſhould ſtrictly depend upon divers ſolemnities, whereof there cannot be the like reaſon in things that paſs between God and us; becauſe ſith we need not doubt, leſt the treaſures of his heavenly grace ſhould without his conſent be paſſed by forged conveyances, nor leſt he ſhould deny at any time his own acts, and ſeek to revoke what hath been conſented unto before; as there is no ſuch fear of danger through deceit and falſehood in this caſe, ſo neither hath the circumſtance of men's perſons that weight in Baptiſm, which for good and juſt conſiderations in the cuſtody of ſeals of office it ought to have. The grace of Baptiſm cometh by donation from God alone. That God hath committed the miniſtry of Baptiſm unto ſpecial men, it is for order's ſake in his Church, and not to the end that their authority might give being or add force to the Sacrament itſelf. That infants have right to the Sacrament in Baptiſm we all acknowledge. Charge them we cannot as guileful and wrongful poſſeſſors of that, whereunto they have right by the manifeſt will of the Donor, and are not parties unto any defect or diſorder in the manner of receiving the ſame. And if any ſuch diſorder be, we have ſufficiently before declared, that *delictum cum capite ſemper ambulat*, men's own faults are their own harms. Wherefore, to countervail this and the like miſchoſen reſemblances with that which more truly and plainly agreeth; the ordinance of God, concerning

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BOOK V. their vocation that miniſter Baptiſm, wherein the myſtery of our regeneration is wrought, hath thereunto the ſame analogy which laws of wedlock have to our firſt nativity and birth: ſo that if nature do effect procreation, notwithſtanding the wicked violation and breach even of nature's law, made that the entrance of all mankind into this preſent world might be without blemiſh; may we not juſtly preſume that grace doth accompliſh the other, although there be faultineſs in them that tranſgreſs the order which our Lord Jeſus Chriſt hath eſtabliſhed in his Church? Some light may be borrowed from circumciſion, for explication of what is true in this queſtion of Baptiſm. Seeing then that even they which condemn Zipporah the wife of Moſes, [a] for taking upon her to circumciſe her ſon, a thing neceſſary at that time for her to do, and as I think very hard to reprove in her, conſidering how Moſes, becauſe himſelf had not done it ſooner, was therefore ſtricken by the hand of God, neither could in that extremity perform the office; whereupon, for the ſtay of God's indignation there was no choice, but the action muſt needs fall into her hands, whoſe fact therein, whether we interpret as ſome have done, that being a Midianite and as yet not ſo

Exod. iv. 24, 25.

[a] T. C. lib. i. pag. 144. I ſay, that the unlawfulneſs of that fact doth appear ſufficiently, in that ſhe did it before her huſband Moſes, which was a prophet of the Lord, to whom that office of circumciſion did appertain. Beſides, that ſhe did cut off the foreſkin of the infant, not of mind to obey the commandment of God, or for the ſalvation of the child, but in a choler only, to the end that her huſband might be eaſed and have releaſe; which mind appeareth in her, both by her words, and by caſting away in anger the foreſkin which ſhe had cut off. And if it be ſaid, that the event declared that the act pleaſed God, becauſe that Moſes forthwith waxed better, and was recovered of his ſickneſs; I have ſhewed before, that if we meaſure things by the event, we ſhall oftentimes juſtify the wicked, and take the righteouſneſs of the righteous from them.

throughly

throughly acquainted with the Jewiſh rites, it much diſcontented her to ſee herſelf, through her huſband's overſight, in a matter of his own religion, brought unto theſe perplexities and ſtraits, that either ſhe muſt now endure him periſhing before her eyes, or elſe wound the fleſh of her own child; which ſhe could not do but with ſome indignation, ſhewed in that ſhe fumingly both threw down the foreſkin at his feet, and upbraided him with the cruelty of his religion. Or, if we better like to follow their more judicious expoſition, which are not inclinable to think that Moſes was matched like Socrates, nor that circumciſion could now in Eleazar be ſtrange unto her, having had Gerſom her elder ſon before circumciſed; nor that any occaſion of choler could riſe from a ſpectacle of ſuch miſery, as doth[a] naturally move compaſſion and not wrath, nor that Zipporah was ſo impious, as in the viſible preſence of God's deſerved anger to ſtorm at the ordinance and law of God, nor that the words of the hiſtory itſelf can enforce any ſuch affection; but do only declare how after the act performed ſhe touched the feet of Moſes, ſaying, [b] *Sponſus tu mihi es ſanguinum, Thou art unto me an huſband of blood*; which might be very well, the one done and the other ſpoken, even out of the flowing abundance of commiſeration and love to ſignify, with hands laid under his feet, that her tender affection towards him BOOK V.

[a] Mala paſſis non iraſcimur, ſed compatimur. Boet. de Conſol.

[b] Where the uſual tranſlation hath, Exod. iv. 25. She cut away the foreſkin of her ſon, and caſt it at his feet, and ſaid, Thou art indeed a bloody huſband unto me. So he departed from him. Then ſhe ſaid, O bloody huſband, becauſe of the circumciſion. The words, as they lie in the original, are rather thus to be interpreted: And ſhe cut off the foreſkin of her ſon. Which being done, ſhe touched his feet, (the feet of Moſes,) and ſaid, Thou art to me an huſband of blood, (in the plural number, thereby ſignifying effuſion of blood.) And the Lord withdrew from him at the very time, when ſhe ſaid, A huſband of blood, in regard of circumciſion.

had

BOOK V. had cauſed her thus to forget womanhood, to lay all motherly affection aſide, and to redeem her huſband out of the hands of death with effuſion of blood: the ſequel thereof, take it which way you will, is a plain argument that God was ſatisfied with that ſhe did; as may appear by his own teſtimony, declaring how there followed in the perſon of Moſes preſent releaſe of his grievous puniſhment, upon her ſpeedy diſcharge of that duty which by him neglected had offended God; even, as after execution of juſtice by the hands of Phineas the plague was immediately taken away, which former impunity of ſin had cauſed. In which ſo manifeſt and plain caſes, not to make that a reaſon of the event which God himſelf hath ſet down as a reaſon, were falſely to accuſe whom he doth juſtify, and without any cauſe to traduce what we ſhould allow; yet ſeeing they which will have it a breach of the Law of God for her to circumciſe in that neceſſity, are not able to deny but circumciſion being in that very manner performed, was to the innocent child which received it true circumciſion; why ſhould that defect, whereby circumciſion was ſo little weakened, be to Baptiſm a deadly wound? Theſe premiſes therefore remaining, as hitherto they have been laid, becauſe the commandment of our Saviour Chriſt, [a] which

Pſal. cvi. 30.

[a] T. C., lib. iii. pag. 142. Seeing they only are bidden in the Scripture to adminiſter the Sacraments which are bidden to preach the Word, and that the public miniſters have only this charge of the word; and ſeeing that the adminiſtration of both theſe are ſo linked together, that the denial of licence to do one is a denial to do the other, as of the contrary part, licence to one is licence to the other; conſidering alſo that to miniſter the Sacraments is an honour in the Church which none can take unto him, but he which is called unto it, as was Aaron: and further, foraſmuch as the baptizing by private perſons, and by women eſpecially, confirmeth the dangerous error of the condemnation of young children which die without Baptiſm; laſt of all, ſeeing we have the conſent of the godly learned of all times againſt the Baptiſm by women, and of the reformed Churches now, againſt the Baptiſm by private men; we conclude, that the adminiſtration

committeth jointly to public miniſters both Doc- BOOK
trine and Baptiſm, doth no more, by linking them V.
together, import that the nature of the Sacrament dependeth on the miniſter's authority and power to preach the Word, than the force and virtue of the Word doth on licence to give the Sacrament; and conſidering that the work of external miniſtry in Baptiſm is only a pre-eminence of honour, which they that take to themſelves, and are not thereunto called as Aaron was, do but themſelves in their own perſons, by means of ſuch uſurpation, incur the juſt blame of diſobedience to the Law of God; farther alſo, inaſmuch as it ſtandeth with no reaſon, that errors grounded on a wrong interpretation of other men's deeds ſhould make fruſtrate whatſoever is miſconceived, and that Baptiſm by women ſhould ceaſe to be Baptiſm as oft as any man will thereby gather that children which die unbaptized are damned; which opinion if the act of Baptiſm, adminiſtered in ſuch manner, did enforce, it might be ſufficient cauſe of diſliking the ſame, but none of defeating or making it altogether void: laſt of all, whereas general and full conſent of the godly learned in all ages doth make for validity of Baptiſm, yea, albeit adminiſtered in private, and even by women; which kind of Baptiſm, in caſe of neceſſity, divers reformed Churches do both allow and defend, ſome others, which do not defend, tolerate, few, in compariſon, and they without any juſt cauſe, do utterly diſannul and annihilate; ſurely, howſoever, through defect on either ſide, the Sacrament may be without fruit, as well in ſome caſes to him which receiveth, as to him which giveth it, yet no diſability of either part can ſo far make it fruſtrate and without effect, as to deprive it of the very nature of true Baptiſm, having all things elſe which the or-

adminiſtration of this Sacrament by private perſons, and eſpecially by women, is merely both unlawful and void.

dinance

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dinance of Chriſt requireth. Whereupon we may conſequently infer, that the adminiſtration of this Sacrament by private perſons, be it lawful or unlawful, appeareth not as yet to be merely void.

Interrogatories in Baptiſm touching Faith, and the purpoſe of a Chriſtian life.

63. All that are of the race of Chriſt the Scripture nameth them, *children of the promiſe* which God hath made. The promiſe of eternal life is the ſeed of the Church of God. And becauſe there is no attainment of life, but through the only begotten Son of God, nor by him otherwiſe than being ſuch as the Creed Apoſtolic deſcribeth; it followeth that the articles thereof are principles neceſſary for all men to ſubſcribe unto, whom by Baptiſm the Church receiveth into Chriſt's ſchool. All points of Chriſtian doctrine are either demonſtrable concluſions, or demonſtrative principles. Concluſions have ſtrong and invincible proofs, as well in the ſchool of Jeſus Chriſt, as elſewhere. And principles be grounds which require no proof in any kind of ſcience, becauſe it ſufficeth, if either their certainty be evident in itſelf, or evident by the light of ſome higher knowledge; and in itſelf, ſuch as no man's knowledge is ever able to overthrow. Now the principles whereupon we do build our ſouls have their evidence where they had their original; and as received from thence, we adore them, we hold them in reverend admiration, we neither argue nor diſpute about them, we give unto them that aſſent which the oracles of God require. We are not therefore aſhamed of the Goſpel of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, becauſe miſcreants in ſcorn have upbraided us, that the higheſt point of our wiſdom is, [a] *Believe.* That which is true, and neither can be diſcerned by ſenſe nor concluded by mere natural principles, muſt have principles of revealed truth whereupon to build itſelf, and an habit of Faith in us, wherewith

[a] Apoſtate maledictum. Οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ τὸ πίστευσον τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐστὶ σοφίας. Naz. Orat. i. contr. Julian.

principles

principles of that kind are apprehended. [a] The myſteries of our religion are above the reach of our underſtanding, above the diſcourſe of man's reaſon, above all that any creature can comprehend. Therefore the firſt thing required of him which ſtandeth for admiſſion into Chriſt's family, is belief. Which belief conſiſteth not ſo much in knowledge, as in acknowledgment of all things that heavenly Wiſdom revealeth; the affection of faith is above her reach, her love to God-ward above the comprehenſion which ſhe hath of God. And becauſe only for believers all things may be done, he which is goodneſs itſelf loveth them above all. Deſerve we then the love of God, becauſe we believe in the Son of God? What more oppoſite than faith and pride? When God had created all things, he looked upon them and loved them, becauſe they were all as himſelf had made them. So the true reaſon wherefore Chriſt doth love believers is, becauſe their belief is the gift of God, a gift than which fleſh and blood in this world cannot poſſibly receive a greater. And as to love them of whom we receive good things is duty, becauſe they ſatisfy our deſires in that which elſe we ſhould want; ſo to love them on whom we beſtow is nature, becauſe in them we behold the effects of our own virtue. Seeing therefore no religion enjoyeth Sacraments, the ſigns of God's love, unleſs it have alſo that faith whereupon the Sacraments are built, could there be any thing more convenient than that our firſt admittance to the actual receipt of his grace in the Sacrament of Baptiſm ſhould be conſecrated with profeſſion of belief [b]? which is to the kingdom of God as a key, the want whereof excludeth Infidels both from that and from all other ſaving grace. We

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Matt. xvi. 17. John i. 12, 13.

[a] Ὑπὲρ νοῦν, ὑπὲρ λόγον, ὑπὲρ κατάληψιν κτιστῆς φύσεως τὰ ἡμέτερα. Juſt. Mart. Expoſ. Fid.

[b] Spiritus Sanctus habitator ejus Templi non efficitur, quod Antiſtitem non habet veram fidem. Hieron. adv. Lucif. cap. iv.

find

BOOK V. find by experience, that, although faith be an intellectual habit of the mind, and have her ſeat in the underſtanding; yet an evil moral diſpoſition, obſtinately wedded to the love of darkneſs, dampeth the very light of heavenly illumination, and permitteth not the mind to ſee what doth ſhine before it. Men are *lovers of pleaſure, more than lovers of God.* Their aſſent to his ſaving truth is many times withheld from it, not that the truth is too weak to perſuade, but becauſe the ſtream of corrupt affection carrieth them a clean contrary way. That the mind therefore may abide in the light of faith, there muſt abide in the will as conſtant a reſolution to have no fellowſhip at all with the vanities and works of darkneſs. Two covenants there are which Chriſtian men (ſaith Iſidore) do make in Baptiſm, the one concerning relinquiſhment of Satan, the other touching obedience to the Faith of Chriſt. In like ſort St. Ambroſe, *He which is baptized forſaketh the intellectual Pharaoh, the Prince of this world, ſaying*, Abrenuncio; *Thee, O Satan, and thy Angels, thy works and thy mandates I forſake utterly.* Tertullian having ſpeech of wicked ſpirits: *Theſe* (ſaith he) *are the Angels which we in Baptiſm renounce.* The declaration of [a] Juſtin the martyr concerning Baptiſm ſheweth how ſuch as the Church in thoſe days did baptize, made profeſſion of Chriſtian belief, and undertook to live accordingly. Neither do I think it a matter eaſy for any man to prove that ever Baptiſm did uſe to be adminiſtered without interrogatories of theſe two kinds. Whereunto St. Peter (as it may be thought) alluding hath ſaid, *That the Baptiſm which ſaveth us* is not (as legal purifications were) a cleanſing of the fleſh from outward impurity, but ἐπερώτημα, *an interrogative trial of a good conſcience towards God.*

Iſid. de Offic. Eccleſ. lib. ii. cap. 24.

Ambroſ. Hexam. lib. i. cap. 4. p. 7. tom. i. E. ed. Par.

Tertul. de Spectac.

1 Pet. iii. 21.

[a] Ὅσοι ἂν πιστεύωσι καὶ πιστεύωσιν ἀληθῆ ταῦτα τὰ ὑφ' ἡμῶν διδασκόμενα καὶ λεγόμενα εἶναι, καὶ βιοῦν οἷοί τε δύνασθαι ὑπισχνῶνται, εὔχεσθαί τε καὶ αἰτεῖν νηστεύοντες παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῶν προγεγαρτημένων ἄφεσιν διδάσκονται· — ἔπειτα ἀγόμεθ' ὑφ' ἡμῶν, ἔνθα ὕδωρ ἐστὶ καὶ τρόπον ἀναγεννήσεως ὃν καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἀνεγεννήθημεν ἀναγεννῶνται. Juſtin. Apol. ii. p. 93. D. ed. Par.

64. Now

Interrogatories propoſed unto infants in Baptiſm, and anſwered as in their names by godfathers.

64. Now the fault which they find with us concerning interrogatories is, our moving of theſe queſtions unto infants which cannot anſwer them, and the anſwering of them by others as in their names. The Anabaptiſt hath many pretences to ſcorn at the Baptiſm of children: firſt, becauſe the Scriptures, he ſaith, do no where give commandment to baptize infants: ſecondly, for that, as there is no commandment, ſo neither any manifeſt example ſhewing it to have been done either by Chriſt or his Apoſtles: thirdly, in as much as the Word preached and the Sacraments muſt go together, they which are not capable of the one, are not fit receivers of the other: laſt of all, ſith the Order of Baptiſm continued from the firſt beginning hath in it thoſe things which are unfit to be applied to ſucking children, it followeth in their conceit, that the Baptiſm of ſuch is no Baptiſm, but plain mockery. They with whom we contend are no enemies to the Baptiſm of infants; it is not their deſire that the Church ſhould hazard ſo many ſouls by letting them run on till they come to ripeneſs of underſtanding, that ſo they may be converted and then baptized, as Infidels heretofore have been; they bear not towards God ſo unthankful minds as not to acknowledge it even amongſt the greateſt of his endleſs mercies, that by making us his own poſſeſſion ſo ſoon, many advantages which Satan otherwiſe might take are prevented, and (which ſhould be eſteemed a part of no ſmall happineſs) the firſt thing whereof we have occaſion to take notice is, how much hath been done already to our great good, though altogether without our knowledge. The Baptiſm of infants they eſteem as an Ordinance which Chriſt hath inſtituted, even in ſpecial love and favour to his own people: they deny not the practice thereof accordingly to have been kept, as derived from the hands, and continued from the days of the Apoſtles themſelves unto this preſent; only it pleaſeth them not, that to infants there ſhould be interrogatories propoſed

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poſed in Baptiſm [a]. This they condemn as fooliſh, toyiſh, and profane mockery. But are they able to ſhew, that ever the Church of Chriſt had any public form of Baptiſm without interrogatories; or that the Church did ever uſe at the ſolemn Baptiſm of infants to omit thoſe queſtions as needleſs in this caſe? Boniface, a Biſhop in St. Auguſtine's time, knowing that the Church did univerſally uſe this cuſtom of baptizing infants with interrogatories, was deſirous to learn from St. Auguſtine the true cauſe and reaſon thereof. *If* (ſaith he) *I ſhould ſet before thee a young infant, and ſhould aſk of thee, whether that infant when he cometh unto riper age will be honeſt and juſt, or no; thou wouldeſt anſwer, (I know,) that to tell in theſe things what ſhall come to paſs, is not in the power of mortal men. If I ſhould aſk, what good or evil ſuch an infant thinketh? Thine anſwer hereunto muſt needs be again with the like uncertainty. If thou neither canſt promiſe for the time to come, nor for the preſent pronounce any thing in this caſe; how is it, that when ſuch are brought unto Baptiſm, their parents there undertake what the child ſhall afterwards do? Yea, they are not doubtful to ſay, it doth that which is impoſſible to be done by infants; at the leaſt there is no man preciſely able to affirm it done. Vouchſafe me hereunto ſome ſhort anſwer, ſuch as not only may preſs me with the bare authority of cuſtom, but alſo inſtruct me in the cauſe thereof.* Touching which difficulty, whether it may truly be ſaid for infants at the time of their Baptiſm that they do believe, the effect of St. Auguſtine's anſwer is Yea; but with this diſtinction [b], a preſent *actual habit*

Aug. Epiſt. xcviii. p. 265. F. tom. ii. ed. Par.

[a] They profane holy Baptiſm in toying fooliſhly; for that they aſk queſtions of an infant which cannot anſwer, and ſpeak unto them, as was wont to be ſpoken unto men, and unto ſuch as being converted, anſwered for themſelves and were baptized. Which is but a mockery of God, and therefore againſt the holy Scriptures, Gal. vi. 7. Admonition to the Parliament. The ſame defended in T. C. lib. i. pag. 168.

[b] Sicut credere reſpondetur, ita etiam fidelis vocatur; non rem ipſa mente annuendo, ſed ipſius rei Sacramentum percipiendo. Aug.

of

of Faith there is not in them; there is delivered unto them that Sacrament, a part of the due celebration whereof conſiſteth in anſwering to the Articles of Faith, becauſe the habit of Faith, which afterwards doth come with years, is but a farther building up of the ſame edifice, *the firſt foundation whereof was laid by the Sacrament of Baptiſm.* For that which there we profeſſed without any underſtanding, when we afterwards come to acknowledge, do we any thing elſe but only bring unto ripeneſs the very ſeed that was ſown before? We are then believers becauſe then we begin to be that which proceſs of time doth make perfect. And till we come to actual belief, the very Sacrament of Faith is a ſhield as ſtrong as, after this, the Faith of the Sacrament againſt all contrary infernal powers. Which whoſoever doth think impoſſible, is undoubtedly farther off from Chriſtian belief, though he be baptized, than are theſe innocents which at their Baptiſm, albeit they have no conceit or cogitation of Faith, are notwithſtanding pure and free from all oppoſite cogitations; whereas the other is not free. If therefore without any fear or ſcruple we may account them and term them believers, only for their outward profeſſion's ſake, which inwardly are farther from Faith than infants, why not infants much more at the time of their ſolemn initiation by Baptiſm, the Sacrament of Faith, whereunto they not only conceive nothing oppoſite, but have alſo that [a] grace given them which is the firſt and moſt effectual cauſe out of which our belief groweth? In ſum, the whole Church is a multitude of believers, all honoured with that title, BOOK V.

[a] Multum mirabilis res eſt, quemadmodum quorundam nondum cognoſcentium Deum ſit inhabitator Deus; et quorundam cognoſcentium non ſit. Nec illi enim ad templum Dei pertinent, qui, cognoſcentes Deum, non ſicut Deum glorificaverunt: et ad templum Dei pertinent parvuli ſanctificati Sacramento Chriſti, regenerati Spiritu Sancto qui per ætatem nondum poſſunt cognoſcere Deum. Unde quem potuerunt illi nolle nec habere, iſti potuerunt habere antequam nolle. Aug. Epiſt.

even

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even hypocrites for their profeſſion's ſake, as well as ſaints becauſe of their inward ſincere perſuaſion, and *infants as being in the firſt degree of their ghoſtly motion towards the actual habit of Faith*; the firſt ſort are faithful in the eye of the world, the ſecond faithful in the ſight of God; the laſt in the ready direct way to become both, if all things after be ſuitable to theſe their preſent beginnings. *This* (ſaith St. Auguſtine) *would not haply content ſuch perſons as are uncapable or unquiet; but to them which, having knowledge, are not troubleſome, it may ſuffice. Wherein I have not for eaſe of myſelf objected againſt you that cuſtom only, than which nothing is more firm, but of a cuſtom moſt profitable, I have done that little which I could, to yield you a reaſonable cauſe.* Were St. Auguſtine now living, there are which would tell him for his better inſtruction, that to ſay[a] of a child, it is elect, and to ſay, it doth believe, are all one; for which cauſe, ſith no man is able preciſely to affirm the one of any infant in particular, it followeth, that preciſely and abſolutely we ought not to ſay the other. Which preciſe and abſolute terms are needleſs in this caſe. We ſpeak of infants as the rule of piety alloweth both to ſpeak and think. They that can take to themſelves, in ordinary talk, a charitable kind of liberty to name men of their own ſort God's dear children, (notwithſtanding the large reign of hypocriſy,) ſhould not methinks be ſo ſtrict and rigorous againſt the Church for preſuming as it doth of a Chriſtian innocent. For when we know how Chriſt in general hath ſaid that *of ſuch is the kingdom of Heaven*, which kingdom is the inheritance of God's elect; and do withal behold, how his providence hath called them unto the firſt beginnings of

Ep. 98. tom. ii. p. 268. ed. Par.

[a] T. C. lib. i. pag. 169. If children could have Faith, yet, they that preſent the child cannot preciſely tell whether that particular child hath Faith, or no; we are to think charitably, and to hope it is one of the Church, but it can be no more preciſely ſaid that it hath Faith, than it may be ſaid preciſely to be elected.

eternal

eternal life, and preſented them at the well-ſpring of new-birth, wherein original ſin is purged, beſides which ſin, there is no hindrance of their ſalvation known to us, as themſelves will grant; hard it were, that having ſo many fair inducements whereupon to ground, we ſhould not be thought to utter, at the leaſt, a truth as probable and allowable in terming any ſuch particular infant an elect babe, as in preſuming the like of others whoſe ſafety nevertheleſs we are not abſolutely able to warrant. If any, troubled with theſe ſcruples, be only for inſtruction's ſake deſirous to know yet ſome farther reaſon why interrogatories ſhould be miniſtered to infants in Baptiſm, and be anſwered unto by others as in their names; they may conſider, that Baptiſm implieth a covenant or league between God and man, wherein as God doth beſtow preſently remiſſion of ſins and the Holy Ghoſt, binding alſo himſelf to add in proceſs of time what grace ſoever ſhall be farther neceſſary for the attainment of everlaſting life; ſo every baptized ſoul, receiving the ſame grace at the hands of God, tieth likewiſe itſelf for ever to the obſervation of his Law, no leſs than the Jews by circumciſion bound themſelves to the Law of Moſes. The Law of Chriſt requiring therefore Faith and newneſs of life in all men, by virtue of the covenant which they make in Baptiſm, is it toyiſh that the Church in Baptiſm exacteth at every man's hands an expreſs profeſſion of Faith, and an irrevocable promiſe of obedience by way of [a] ſolemn ſtipulation? That infants may contract and covenant with God, the Law is plain. Neither is the reaſon of the Law obſcure: for ſith it tendeth, we

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[z] John 2.

Gal. v. 3.

Gen. xvii. 14.

[a] Stipulatio eſt verborum conceptio, quibus is qui interrogatur daturum facturumve ſe quod interrogatus eſt, reſpondet. Lib. v. ſect. 1. ff. de Oblig. et Act. In hac re olim talia verba tradita fuerunt: Spondes? Spondeo. Promittis? Promitto. Fide promittis? Fide promitto. Fide jubes? Fide jubeo. Dabis? Dabo. Facies? Faciam. Inſtit. de Verb. oblig. lib. iii. tit. 15.

BOOK V. cannot ſufficiently expreſs how much, to their own good, and doth no way hurt or endanger them to begin the race of their lives herewith; they are, as equity requireth, admitted hereunto, and, in favour of their tender years, ſuch formal complements of ſtipulation, as being requiſite are impoſſible by themſelves in their own perſons to be performed, leave is given that they may [a] ſufficiently diſcharge by others. Albeit therefore neither deaf nor dumb men, neither furious perſons, nor children, can receive any civil ſtipulation; yet this kind of ghoſtly ſtipulation they may through his indulgence, who, reſpecting the ſingular benefit thereof, accepteth children brought unto him for that end, entereth into articles of covenant with them, and in tender commiſeration granteth that other men's profeſſions and promiſes in Baptiſm made for them ſhall avail no leſs than if they had been themſelves able to have made their own. None more fit to undertake this office in their behalf than ſuch as preſent them unto Baptiſm. A wrong conceit that none may receive the Sacrament of Baptiſm but they whoſe parents, at the leaſt the one of them, are by the ſoundneſs of their religion, and by their virtuous demeanor known to be men of God, hath cauſed ſome to repel children, whoſoever bring them, if their parents be miſperſuaded in religion, or for other miſ-deſerts excommunicated; ſome likewiſe for that cauſe to withhold Baptiſm, unleſs the Father, albeit no ſuch exception can juſtly be taken againſt him, do notwithſtanding make profeſſion of his Faith, and avouch the child to be his own. Thus whereas God hath appointed them miniſters of holy things, they make themſelves inquiſitors of men's perſons a great deal

T. C. l. i. p. 172.

[a] Accommodat illis mater Eccleſia aliorum pedes ut veniant, aliorum cor ut credant, aliorum linguam ut fateantur, ut quoniam quod ægri ſunt alio peccante prægravantur, ſic cum ſani ſiant alio pro eis confitente ſalventur. Aug. Serm. x. de Verb. Apoſt.

farther

farther than need is. They ſhould conſider, that God hath ordained Baptiſm in favour of mankind. To reſtrain favours is an odious thing; to enlarge them, acceptable both to God and man. Whereas therefore the civil law gave divers immunities to them that were fathers of three children, and had them living; thoſe immunities they held, although their children were all dead, if war had conſumed them, becauſe it ſeemed in that caſe not againſt reaſon to repute them by a courteous conſtruction of law as live men [a], in that the honour of their ſervice done to the commonwealth would remain always: can it hurt us, in exhibiting the graces which God doth beſtow on men, or can it prejudice his glory, if the ſelf-ſame equity guide and direct our hands? When God made his covenant with ſuch as had Abraham to their father, was only Abraham's immediate iſſue, or only his lineal poſterity according to the fleſh, included in that covenant? Were not proſelytes as well as Jews always taken for the ſons of Abraham? Yea, becauſe the very heads of families are fathers in ſome ſort, as touching providence and care for the meaneſt that belong unto them, the ſervants which Abraham had bought with money were as capable of circumciſion, being newly born, as any natural child that Abraham himſelf begat. Be it then that Baptiſm belongeth to none but ſuch as either believe preſently, or elſe being infants are the children of believing parents, in caſe the Church do bring children to the holy font, whoſe natural parents are either unknown, or known to be ſuch as the Church accurſeth, but yet forgetteth not in that ſeverity to take compaſſion upon their offſpring, (for it is the Church [b] which BOOK V.

[a] Hi enim qui pro Rep. ceciderunt, in perpetuum per gloriam vivere intelliguntur. Inſtit. lib. ii. tit. 25. ſect. 1.

[b] Offeruntur quippe parvuli ad percipiendam ſpiritualem gratiam, non tam ab eis quorum geſtantur manibus, quamvis et ab ipſis, ſi et ipſi boni et fideles ſint, quam ab univerſa ſocietate ſanctorum atque

BOOK V. doth offer them to Baptiſm by the miniſtry of preſenters,) were it not againſt both equity and duty to refuſe the mother of believers herſelf, and not to take her in this caſe for a faithful parent? It is not the virtue of our fathers, nor the faith of any other, that can give us the true holineſs which we have by virtue of our new-birth. Yet even through the common faith and ſpirit of God's Church, (a thing which no quality of parents can prejudice,) I ſay, through the faith of the Church of God, undertaking the motherly care of our ſouls, ſo far forth we may be and are in our infancy ſanctified, as to be thereby made ſufficiently capable of Baptiſm, and to be intereſted in the rites of our new-birth for their piety's ſake that offer us thereunto. *It cometh ſometime to paſs*, (ſaith St. Auguſtine,) *that the children of bond-ſlaves are brought to Baptiſm by their lord; ſometime the parents being dead, the friends alive undertake that office; ſometime ſtrangers or virgins conſecrated unto God, which neither have nor can have children of their own, take up infants in the open ſtreets, and ſo offer them unto Baptiſm, whom the cruelty of unnatural parents caſteth out, and leaveth to the adventure of uncertain pity.* As therefore he which did the part of a neighbour was a neighbour to that wounded man whom the parable of the Goſpel deſcribeth, ſo they are fathers, although ſtrangers, that bring infants to him which maketh them the ſons of God. In the phraſe of ſome kind of men, they uſe to be termed witneſſes, as if they came but to ſee and teſtify what is done. It ſavoureth more of piety to give them their old accuſtomed name of fathers and mothers in God, whereby they are well put in mind what affection they ought to bear towards thoſe innocents for whoſe religious

Ep. 98. tom. ii. p. 266. B. ed. Par.

atque fidelium. Aug. in Epiſt. 98. Ἀξιοῦνται δὲ τῶν διὰ τῦ Βαπτίσματος ἀγαθῶν τὰ βρέφη τῇ πίστει τῶν προσφερόντων αὐτὰ τῷ Βαπτίσματι. Juſtin. Reſp. ad Orthod.

education

education the Church accepteth them as pledges. This therefore is their own duty: but becauſe the anſwer which they make to the uſual demands of ſtipulation propoſed in Baptiſm is not their own; the Church doth beſt to receive it of them, in that form which beſt ſheweth whoſe the act is. That which a guardian doth in the name of his guard or pupil, ſtandeth by natural equity forcible for his benefit, though it be done without his knowledge; and ſhall we judge it a thing unreaſonable, or in any reſpect unfit, that infants by words which others utter ſhould, though unwittingly, yet truly and forcibly bind themſelves to that whereby their eſtate is ſo aſſuredly bettered? Herewith Neſtorius [a] the Heretic was charged, as having fallen from his firſt profeſſion, and broken the promiſe which he made to God in the arms of others. Of ſuch as profaned themſelves, being Chriſtians, with irreligious delight in the enſigns of idolatry, heatheniſh ſpectacles, ſhows, and ſtage-plays, Tertullian, to ſtrike them the more deep, claimeth the promiſe which they made in Baptiſm. Why were they dumb, being thus challenged? Wherefore ſtood they not up to anſwer it in their own defence, that ſuch profeſſions and promiſes made in their names were frivolous; that all which BOOK V.

Tertul. lib. de Spectac.

[a] Si Arrianæ aut Sabellianæ hereſeos adſertor eſſes, et non tuo ipſius ſymbolo tecum uterer, convincerem te tamen teſtimoniorum ſacrorum auctoritate.—Quid tandem ſi ſic apud te agerem? quid diceres? quid reſpondores? nonne obſecro illud,—in eo te baptizatum, in eo te renatum eſſe?—Et vere, in negotio quamvis improbo non importuna defenſio, et quæ non abſurde cauſam erroris diceres, ſi pertinaciam non ſociaret errori. Nunc autem cum in Catholica urbe natus, Catholica Fide inſtitutus, Catholico Baptiſmate regeneratus ſis, nunquid agere tecum quaſi cum Arriano aut Sabelliano poſſim? Quod utinam fuiſſes. Minus dolerem in malis editum quam de bonis lapſum; minus Fidem non habitam quam amiſſam.—Non iniquum, Hæretice, non iniquum aut grave aliquid poſtulo. Hoc fac in Catholica Fide editus, quod fueras pro perverſitate facturus. Caſſian. de Incarn. lib. vi. cap. 5. pag. 1052. Op. ed. Atreb.

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others undertook for them was but mockery and profanation? That which no Heretic, no wicked liver, no impious deſpiſer of God, no miſcreant or malefactor, which had himſelf been baptized, was ever ſo deſperate as to diſgorge in contempt of ſo fruitfully received cuſtoms, is now their voice that reſtore, as they ſay, *the ancient purity of Religion.*

Of the Croſs in Baptiſm.

65. In Baptiſm many things of very ancient continuance are now quite and clean aboliſhed; for that the virtue and grace of this Sacrament had been therewith overſhadowed, as fruit with too great abundance of leaves. Notwithſtanding to them which think that always imperfect reformation that doth but ſhear and not flay, our retaining certain of thoſe formal rites, eſpecially the dangerous ſign of the Croſs, hath ſeemed almoſt an impardonable overſight. *The Croſs*, (they ſay,) *ſith it is but a mere invention of man, ſhould not therefore at all have been added to the Sacrament of Baptiſm. To ſign children's foreheads with a Croſs, in token that hereafter they ſhall not be aſhamed to make profeſſion of the Faith of Chriſt, is to bring into the Church a new word, whereas there ought to be no doctor heard in the Church but our Saviour Chriſt. That reaſon which moved the Fathers to uſe, ſhould move us not to uſe the ſign of the Croſs. They lived with Heathens that had the Croſs of Chriſt in contempt; we with ſuch as adore the Croſs.; and therefore we ought to abandon it, even as, in like conſideration, Hezekiah did of old the brazen ſerpent.* Theſe are the cauſes of diſpleaſure conceived againſt the Croſs; a ceremony, the uſe whereof hath been profitable, although we obſerve it not as the ordinance of God, but of man. *For* (ſaith Tertullian) *if of this and the like cuſtoms thou ſhouldeſt require ſome commandment to be ſhewed thee out of Scriptures, there is none found.* What reaſon there is to juſtify tradition, uſe, or cuſtom in this behalf, *either thou mayeſt of thyſelf perceive, or elſe learn of ſome other that doth.* Leſt therefore the name of tradition ſhould be offenſive

Tertul. de Coron. Militis, cap. iv. p. 102. B. ed. Par.

ſive to any, conſidering how far by ſome it hath been and is abuſed, we mean by [a] traditions, ordinances made in the prime of Chriſtian Religion, eſtabliſhed with that authority which Chriſt hath left to his Church for matters indifferent, and in that conſideration requiſite to be obſerved, till like authority ſee juſt and reaſonable cauſe to alter them. So that traditions eccleſiaſtical are not rudely and in groſs to be ſhaken off, becauſe the inventors of them were men. Such as ſay, they allow no [b] invention of men to be mingled with the outward adminiſtration of Sacraments; and, under that pretence, condemn our uſing the ſign of the Croſs, have belike ſome ſpecial diſpenſation themſelves to violate their own rules. For neither can they indeed decently, nor do they ever baptize any without manifeſt breach of this their profound axiom, *That men's inventions ſhould not be mingled with Sacraments and inſtitutions of God.* They ſeem to like very well in Baptiſm the cuſtom of Godfathers, *becauſe ſo generally the Churches have received it.* Which cuſtom being of God no more inſtituted than the other, (howſoever they pretend the other hurtful and this profitable,) it followeth, that even in their own opinion, if their words do ſhew their minds, there is no neceſſity of ſtripping Sacraments out of all ſuch attire of ceremonies as man's wiſdom hath at any time clothed them withal; and conſequently, that either they muſt reform their ſpeech as over-general, or elſe condemn their own practice as unlawful. Ceremonies have more in weight than in ſight; they work by

T. C. l. i. p. 170.

[a] Traditiones non ſcriptas, ſi doctrinam reſpiciant, cum doctrina ſcripta convenire debere dicimus. Quod ad rituales et eccleſiaſticas attinet, ordinis et ædificationis Eccleſiarum in his ſemper habenda ratio eſt; inutiles autem et noxias, nempe ineptas et ſuperſtitioſas Patronis ſuis relinquamus. Goulart. Genevenſ. Annot. in Epiſt. Cypr. lxxiv.

[b] T. C. lib. i. pag. 171. They ſhould not have been ſo bold as to have brought it into the holy Sacrament of Baptiſm; and ſo mingle the ceremonies and inventions of men with the Sacraments and inſtitutions of God.

commonneſs

BOOK V. commonneſs of uſe much, although in the ſeveral acts of their uſage we ſcarcely diſcern any good they do. And becauſe the uſe which they have for the moſt part is not perfectly underſtood, ſuperſtition is apt to impute unto them greater virtue than indeed they have. For prevention whereof when we uſe this ceremony, we always plainly expreſs the end whereunto it ſerveth, namely, for a ſign of remembrance to put us in mind of our duty. But by this mean, they ſay, [a] we make it a great deal worſe. For why? Seeing God hath no where commanded to draw two lines in token of the duty which we owe to Chriſt, our practice with this expoſition publiſheth a new Goſpel, and cauſeth another word to have place in the Church of Chriſt, where no voice ought to be heard but his. By which good reaſon the authors of thoſe grave admonitions to the Parliament are well holpen up, which held, *That ſitting at communions betokeneth reſt and full accompliſhment of legal ceremonies in our Saviour Chriſt.* For although it be the Word of God that ſuch ceremonies are expired; yet ſeeing it is not the word of God, that men to ſignify ſo much ſhould ſit at the table of our Lord, theſe have their doom as well as others, *Guilty of a new deviſed Goſpel in the Church of Chriſt.* Which ſtrange imagination is begotten of a ſpecial diſlike they have to hear, that ceremonies now in uſe ſhould be thought ſignificant; whereas, in truth, ſuch as are not ſignificant muſt needs be vain. Ceremonies deſtitute of ſignification are no better than the idle geſtures of men, whoſe broken wits are not maſters of what they do. For if we look but into ſecular and civil complements, what other cauſe can

[a] T. C. l. i. p. 170. The profitable ſignification of the Croſs maketh the thing a great deal worſe, and bringeth in a new word into the Church; whereas there ought to be no doctor heard in the Church, but only our Saviour Chriſt. For although it be the Word of God, that we ſhould not be aſhamed of the Croſs of Chriſt, yet is it not the Word of God, that we ſhould be kept in remembrance of that, by two lines drawn acroſs one over another in a child's forehead.

there

there poſſibly be given why to omit them where of courſe they are looked for? for where they are not ſo due, to uſe them bringeth men's ſecret intents oftentimes into great jealouſy: I would know, I ſay, what reaſon we are able to yield, why things ſo light in their own nature ſhould weigh in the opinions of men ſo much, ſaving only in regard of that which they uſe to ſignify or betoken? Doth not our Lord Jeſus Chriſt himſelf impute the omiſſion of ſome courteous ceremonies, even in domeſtical entertainment, to a colder degree of loving affection, and take the contrary in better part, not ſo much reſpecting what was leſs done, as what was ſignified leſs by the one than by the other? For, to that very end, he referreth in part thoſe gracious expoſtulations. *Simon, ſeeſt thou this woman? Since I entered into thine houſe, thou gaveſt me no water for my feet; but ſhe hath waſhed my feet with tears, and wiped them with the hairs of her head: thou gaveſt me no kiſs; but this woman, ſince the time I came in, hath not ceaſed to kiſs my feet: mine head with oil thou didſt not anoint; but this woman hath anointed my feet with ointment.* Luke vii. 44, 45, 46. Wherefore as the uſual dumb ceremonies of common life are in requeſt or diſlike according to that they import; even ſo Religion having likewiſe her ſilent rites, the chiefeſt rule, whereby to judge of their quality, is that which they mean or betoken. For if they ſignify good things, (as ſomewhat they muſt of neceſſity ſignify, becauſe it is of their very nature to be ſigns of intimation, preſenting both themſelves unto outward ſenſe, and beſides themſelves ſome other thing to the underſtanding of beholders,) unleſs they be either greatly miſchoſen to ſignify the ſame, or elſe applied where that which they ſignify agreeth not, there is no cauſe of exception againſt them, as againſt evil and unlawful ceremonies; much leſs of excepting againſt them only in that they are not without ſenſe. And if every religious ceremony, which hath been invented of men to ſignify any thing God himſelf alloweth, were the publication of another Goſpel in the Church of Chriſt;

BOOK V. Chriſt; ſeeing that no Chriſtian Church in the world is, or can be, without continual uſe of ſome ceremonies which men have inſtituted, and that to ſignify good things; (unleſs they be vain and frivolous ceremonies;) it would follow, that the world hath no Chriſtian Church which doth not daily proclaim new Goſpels; a ſequel, the manifeſt abſurdity whereof argueth the rawneſs of that ſuppoſal out of which it groweth. Now the[a] cauſe why antiquity did the more, in actions of common life, honour the ceremony of the Croſs, might be for that they lived with Infidels. But that which they did in the Sacrament of Baptiſm was for the ſelf-ſame good of believers, which is thereby intended ſtill. The Croſs is for us an admonition no leſs neceſſary than for them, to glory in the ſervice of Jeſus Chriſt, and not to hang down our

[a] T. C. lib. i. pag. 170. It is known to all that have read the eccleſiaſtical ſtories, that the Heathens did object to Chriſtians in times paſt, in reproach, that the God which they believed on was hanged upon a Croſs. And they thought good to teſtify, that they were not aſhamed therefore of the Son of God, by the often uſing of the ſign of the Croſs. Which carefulneſs and good mind to keep amongſt them an open profeſſion of Chriſt crucified, although it be to be commended, yet is not this means ſo. For they might otherwiſe have kept it, and with leſs danger than by this uſe of croſſing. And as it was brought in upon no good ground, ſo the Lord left a mark of his curſe of it, and whereby it might be perceived to come out of the forge of men's brain, in that it began forthwith, while it was yet in the ſwaddling clouts, to be ſuperſtitiouſly abuſed. The Chriſtians had ſuch a ſuperſtition in it, that they would do nothing without croſſing. But if it were granted, that upon this conſideration, which I have before mentioned, the ancient Chriſtians did well; yet it followeth not, that we ſhould ſo do. For we live not among thoſe nations which do caſt us in the teeth, or reproach us with the Croſs of Chriſt. Now that we live amongſt Papiſts that do not contemn the Croſs of Chriſt, but which eſteem more of the wooden Croſs, than of the true Croſs which is his ſufferings; we ought now to do clean contrariwiſe to the old Chriſtians, and aboliſh all uſe of theſe Croſſes. For contrary diſeaſes muſt have contrary remedies. If therefore the old Chriſtians, to deliver the Croſs of Chriſt from contempt, did often uſe the Croſs, the Chriſtians now, to take away the ſuperſtitious eſtimation of it, ought to take away the uſe of it.

heads

heads as men aſhamed thereof, although it procure us reproach and obloquy at the hands of this wretched world. Shame is a kind of fear to incur diſgrace and ignominy. Now whereas ſome things are worthy of reproach, ſome things ignominious only through a falſe opinion which men have conceived of them; Nature, that generally feareth opprobrious reprehenſion, muſt by reaſon and religion be taught what it ſhould be aſhamed of, and what not. But be we never ſo well inſtructed what our duty is in this behalf, without ſome preſent admonition at the very inſtant of practice, what we know is many times not called to mind till that be done whereupon our juſt confuſion enſueth. To ſupply the abſence of ſuch as that way might do us good when they ſee us in danger of ſliding, there are judicious and wiſe men which think we may greatly relieve ourſelves by a bare imagined preſence of ſome, whoſe authority we fear and would be loth to offend, if indeed they were preſent with us. Witneſſes at hand are a bridle unto many offences. Let the mind have always ſome whom it feareth, ſome whoſe authority may keep even ſecret thoughts under awe. Take Cato, or, if he be too harſh and rugged, chooſe ſome other of a ſofter metal, whoſe gravity of life and ſpeech thou loveſt, his mind and countenance carry with thee, ſet him always before thine eyes, either as a watch or as a pattern. That which is crooked we cannot ſtraighten but by ſome ſuch level. If men of ſo good experience and inſight in the maims of our weak fleſh, have thought theſe fancied remembrances available to awaken ſhamefacedneſs, that ſo the boldneſs of ſin may be ſtaid ere it look abroad; ſurely the wiſdom of the Church of Chriſt, which hath to that uſe converted the ceremony of the Croſs in Baptiſm, it is no Chriſtian man's part to deſpiſe; eſpecially ſeeing that by this mean, where Nature doth earneſtly import aid, Religion yieldeth her that ready aſſiſtance, than which there can be no help more

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Epheſ. v. 12. Rom. vi. 21.

Sen. Epiſt. xi. lib. 1.

BOOK V. more forcible, ſerving only to relieve memory, and to bring to our cogitation that which ſhould moſt make aſhamed of ſin. The mind, while we are in this preſent life [a], whether it contemplate, meditate, deliberate, or, howſoever exerciſe itſelf, worketh nothing without continual recourſe unto imagination, the only ſtorehouſe of wit, and peculiar chair of memory. On this anvil it ceaſeth not day and night to ſtrike, by means whereof, as the pulſe declareth how the heart doth work, ſo the very [b] thoughts and cogitations of man's mind, be they good or bad, do no where ſooner bewray themſelves than through the crevices of that wall, wherewith Nature hath compaſſed the cells and cloſets of fancy. In the forehead nothing more plain to be ſeen than the fear of contumely and diſgrace. For which cauſe the Scripture (as with great probability it may be thought) deſcribeth them marked of God in the forehead, whom his mercy hath undertaken to keep from final confuſion and ſhame. Not that God doth ſet any corporal mark on his choſen, but to note that he giveth his elect ſecurity of preſervation from reproach, the fear whereof doth uſe to ſhew itſelf in that part. Shall I ſay, that the ſign of the Croſs, as we uſe it, is in ſome ſort a mean to work our [c] preſervation from reproach? Surely, the mind which as yet hath not hardened itſelf in ſin, is ſeldom provoked thereunto in any groſs and grievous manner, but Nature's ſecret ſuggeſtion objecteth againſt it ignominy as a bar. Which conceit

[a] Τὸ νοεῖν ἢ φαντασία τις ἢ οὐκ ἄνευ φαντασίας. Ariſt. de Anima, lib. i. cap. 1. Ἡ μὲν αἰσθητικὴ φαντασία καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀλόγοις ζώοις ὑπάρχει, ἡ δὲ βουλευτικὴ ἐν τοῖς λογιστικοῖς. Lib. iii. cap. 11. Τὰ μὲν οὖν εἴδη τὸ νοητικὸν ἐν τοῖς φαντάσμασι νοεῖ, καὶ ὡς ἐν ἐκείνοις ὥρισεν αὐτῷ τὸ διωκτὸν, καὶ φευκτὸν, ἢ ἐκτὸς τῆς αἰσθήσεως ὄν, ὅταν ἐπὶ τῶν φαντασμάτων ᾖ, κινεῖται. Lib. iii. cap. 8.

[b] Frons hominis triſtitiæ, hilaritatis, clementiæ, ſeveritatis index eſt. Plin. lib. xi. Ezek. ix. 4. Apoc. vii. 3. & ix. 4. Ἐρυθριάουσι γὰρ οἱ αἰσχυνόμενοι. Ariſt. Eth. iv. cap. 9.

[c] Caro ſignatur ut et anima muniatur. Tertul. de Reſur. Car.

being

being entered into that palace of man's fancy, the gates whereof have imprinted in them that holy ſign, which bringeth forthwith to mind whatſoever Chriſt hath wrought, and we vowed againſt ſin, it cometh hereby to paſs that Chriſtian men never want a moſt effectual, though a ſilent teacher, to avoid whatſoever may deſervedly procure ſhame. So that in things which we ſhould be aſhamed of, we are by the Croſs admoniſhed faithfully of our duty, at the very moment when admonition doth moſt need. Other things there are which deſerve honour, and yet do purchaſe many times our diſgrace in this preſent world; as, of old, the very truth of Religion itſelf, till God by his own outſtretched arm made the glory thereof to ſhine over all the earth. Whereupon St. Cyprian exhorting to martyrdom in times of heathenish perſecution and cruelty, thought it not vain to allege unto them, with other arguments, the very ceremony of that Croſs whereof we ſpeak. Never let that hand offer ſacrifice to idols which hath already received the body of our Saviour Chriſt, and ſhall hereafter the crown of his glory; *Arm your foreheads* unto all boldneſs, that the *ſign of God* may be kept ſafe. Again, when it pleaſed God, that, the fury of their enemies being bridled, the Church had ſome little reſt and quietneſs, (if ſo ſmall a liberty, but only to breathe between troubles, may be termed quietneſs and reſt,) to ſuch as fell not away from Chriſt through former perſecutions, he giveth due and deſerved praiſe in the ſelf-ſame manner: *You that were ready to endure impriſonment, and were reſolute to ſuffer death, you that have courageouſly withſtood the world; ye have made yourſelves both a glorious ſpectacle for God to behold, and a worthy example for the reſt of your brethren to follow. Thoſe mouths which had ſanctified themſelves with food coming down from Heaven, loathed, after Chriſt's own body and blood, to taſte the poiſoned and contagious ſcraps of idols; thoſe foreheads which the ſign of God had purified,*

Cypr. Epiſt. lviii. ad Thibaritanos. ed. Oxon.

Cypr. de Lapſ. p. 121. Op. ed. Oxon.

BOOK V. *fied, kept themſelves to be crowned by him, the touch of the* [a] *garlands of Satan they abhorred.* Thus was the memory of that ſign which they had in Baptiſm a kind of bar or prevention to keep them even from apoſtaſy, whereunto the frailty of fleſh and blood, overmuch fearing to endure ſhame, might peradventure the more eaſily otherwiſe have drawn them. We have not now, through the gracious goodneſs of Almighty God, thoſe extreme conflicts which our Fathers had with blaſphemous contumelies every where offered to the name of Chriſt, by ſuch as profeſſed themſelves infidels and unbelievers. Howbeit, unleſs we be ſtrangers to the age wherein we live, or elſe, in ſome partial reſpect, diſſemblers of that we hourly both hear and ſee, there is not the ſimpleſt of us but knoweth with what diſdain and ſcorn Chriſt is diſhonoured far and wide. Is there any burden in the world more heavy to bear than contempt? Is there any contempt that grieveth as theirs doth, whoſe quality no way making them leſs worthy than others are of reputation, only the ſervice which they do to Chriſt in the daily exerciſe of Religion treadeth them down? Doth any contumely which we ſuſtain for Religion's ſake pierce ſo deeply as that which would ſeem of mere conſcience religiouſly ſpiteful? When they that honour God are deſpiſed; when the chiefeſt ſervice of honour that man can do unto him is the cauſe why they are deſpiſed; when they which pretend to honour him, and that with greateſt ſincerity, do, with more than heatheniſh petulancy, trample under foot almoſt whatſoever either we, or the whole Church of God by the ſpace of ſo many ages, have been accuſtomed unto, for the comelier and better exerciſe of our Religion according to the ſoundeſt rules that Wiſdom directed by the Word

[a] Erant enim ſupplices coronarii. Tert. lib. de Coron. Mil. In the ſervice of idols, the doors of their temples, the ſacrifices, the altars, the prieſts, and the ſuppliants that were preſent, wore garlands.

of

of God, and by long experience confirmed, hath been able with common advice, with much deliberation, and exceeding great diligence, to comprehend; when no man fighting under Chriſt's banner can be always exempted from ſeeing or ſuſtaining thoſe indignities, the ſting whereof not to feel, or feeling not to be moved thereat, is a thing impoſſible to fleſh and blood: if this be any object for patience to work on, the ſtricteſt bond that thereunto tieth us is our vowed obedience to Chriſt; the ſolemneſt vow that we ever made to obey Chriſt, and to ſuffer willingly all reproaches for his ſake, was made in Baptiſm, and amongſt other memorials to keep us mindful of that vow, we cannot think that the ſign which our new baptized foreheads did there receive is either unfit or unforcible, the reaſons hitherto alleged being weighed with indifferent balance. It is not (you will ſay) the Croſs in our foreheads, but in our hearts the faith of Chriſt that armeth us with patience, conſtancy, and courage. Which as we grant to be moſt true, ſo neither dare we deſpiſe, no not the meaneſt helps that ſerve, though it be but in the very loweſt degree of furtherance, towards the higheſt ſervices that God doth require at our hands. And if any man deny that ſuch ceremonies are available, at the leaſt, as memorials of duty; or do think that himſelf hath no need to be ſo put in mind what our duties are; it is but reaſonable, that in the one the public experience of the world overweigh ſome few men's perſuaſion, and in the other the rare perfection of a few condeſcend unto common imbecility. Seeing, therefore, that to fear ſhame, which doth worthily follow ſin, and to bear undeſerved reproach conſtantly, is the general duty of all men profeſſing Chriſtianity; ſeeing alſo that our weakneſs, while we are in this preſent world, doth need towards ſpiritual duties the help even of corporal furtherance, and that by reaſon of natural intercourſe between the higheſt and the loweſt powers

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BOOK V. of man's mind in all actions, his fancy or imagination carrying in it that ſpecial note of remembrance, than which there is nothing more forcible, where either too weak or too ſtrong a conceit of infamy and diſgrace might do great harm, ſtandeth always ready to put forth a kind of neceſſary helping hand; we are in that reſpect to acknowledge the [a] good and profitable uſe of this ceremony, and not to think it ſuperfluous that Chriſt hath his mark applied [b] unto that part where baſhfulneſs appeareth, in token that they which are Chriſtians ſhould be at no time aſhamed of his ignominy. But to prevent ſome inconveniences which might enſue, if the over ordinary uſe thereof (as it fareth with ſuch rites when they are too common) ſhould cauſe it to be of leſs obſervation or regard where it moſt availeth; we neither omit it in that place, nor altogether make it ſo vulgar, as the cuſtom heretofore hath been. Although to condemn the whole Church of God when it moſt flouriſhed in zeal and piety, to mark that age with the brand of error and ſuperſtition only becauſe they had this ceremony more in uſe than we now think needful, boldly to affirm that this their practice grew ſo ſoon through a fearful malediction of God upon the ceremony of the Croſs, as if we knew that his purpoſe was thereby to make it manifeſt in all men's eyes how execrable thoſe things are in his ſight which have proceeded from human invention, is, as we take it, a cenſure of greater zeal than knowledge. Men whoſe judgments in theſe caſes are grown more moderate, although they retain not, as we do, the uſe of this ceremony, perceive notwithſtanding very well ſuch cenſures to

[a] Ἔτι δὴ ἀγαθὸν ἡ τὸ φυλακτικὸν τ τοιούτων· ἡ ᾧ ἀκολουθεῖ τὰ τοιαῦτα· ἡ τὰ κωλυτικὰ τ ἐναντίων ἡ τὰ φθαρτικά. Ariſt. Rhet. lib. i. cap. 6.

[b] Ozias Rex lepræ varietate in fronte maculatus eſt, ea parte corporis notatus offenſo Domino ubi ſignantur qui Dominum promerentur. Cypr. de Unit. Eccleſ. cap. 16.

be

be out of ſquare; and do therefore not only [a] acquit the Fathers from ſuperſtition therein, but alſo think it ſufficient to anſwer in excuſe of themſelves, *This ceremony, which was but a thing indifferent even of old, we judge not at this day a matter neceſſary for all Chriſtian men to obſerve.* As for their laſt upſhot of all towards this mark, they are of opinion, that if the ancient Chriſtians to deliver the Croſs of Chriſt from contempt did well, and with good conſideration uſe often the ſign of the Croſs, in teſtimony of their faith and profeſſion, before Infidels which upbraided them with Chriſt's ſufferings; now that we live with ſuch as contrariwiſe adore the ſign of the Croſs, (becauſe contrary diſeaſes ſhould always have contrary remedies,) we ought to take away all uſe thereof. In which conceit they both ways greatly ſeduce themſelves; firſt, for that they imagine the Fathers to have had no uſe of the Croſs but with reference unto Infidels, which miſperſuaſion we have before diſcovered at large; and ſecondly, by reaſon that they think there is not any other way beſides univerſal extirpation to reform ſuperſtitious abuſes of the Croſs. Wherein, becauſe there are that ſtand very much upon the example of Hezekiah, as if his breaking to pieces that ſerpent of braſs, whereunto the children of Iſrael had burnt incenſe, did enforce the utter abolition of this ceremony; the fact of that virtuous prince is by ſo much the more attentively to be conſidered. Our lives in this world are partly guided in rules, and partly directed by examples. To conclude out of general rules and axioms by diſcourſe of wit our duties in every particular action, is both troubleſome and many times ſo full of difficulty, that it maketh deliberations hard and tedious to the wiſeſt men.

Goulart. Annot. in Cypr. Epiſt. lvi. c. 7.

2 Kings xviii. 3, 4.

[a] Goulart. Annot. in Cypr. lib. ad Demetr. cap. 19. Quamvis veteres Chriſtiani externo ſigno Crucis uſi ſunt, id tamen fuit ſine ſuperſtitione, et doctrina de Chriſti merito ab errore qui poſtea irrepſit pios ſervavit immunes.

BOOK V. Whereupon we naturally all incline to obſerve examples, to mark what others have done before us, and in favour of our own eaſe rather to follow them, than to enter into a new conſultation, if in regard of their virtue and wiſdom we may but probably think they have waded without error. So that the willingneſs of men to be led by example of others both diſcovereth and helpeth the imbecility of our judgment. Becauſe it doth the one, therefore inſolent and proud wits would always ſeem to be their own guides; and becauſe it doth the other, we ſee how hardly the vulgar ſort is drawn unto any thing for which there are not as well examples as reaſons alleged. Reaſons proving that which is more particular by things more general and farther from ſenſe, are with the ſimpler ſort of men leſs truſted, for that they doubt of their own judgment in thoſe things; but of examples which prove unto them one doubtful particular by another, more familiarly and ſenſibly known, they eaſily perceive in themſelves ſome better ability to judge. The force of examples therefore is great, when in matter of action, being doubtful what to do, we are informed what others have commendably done whoſe deliberations were like. But whoſoever doth perſuade by example, muſt as well reſpect the fitneſs as the goodneſs of that he allegeth. To Hezekiah God himſelf in this fact giveth teſtimony of well-doing. So that nothing is here queſtionable, but only whether the example alleged be pertinent, pregnant, and ſtrong. The ſerpent ſpoken of was firſt erected for the extraordinary and miraculous cure of the Iſraelites in the deſert. This uſe having preſently an end, when the cauſe for which God ordained it was once removed, the thing itſelf they notwithſtanding kept for a monument of God's mercy; as in like conſideration they did the pot of manna, the rod of Aaron, and the ſword which David took from Goliah. In proceſs of time they made of a monument of divine power a plain idol, they burnt incenſe before it contrary

trary to the Law of God, and did it the ſervices of honour due unto God only. Which groſs and grievous abuſe continued till Hezekiah, reſtoring the purity of ſound Religion, deſtroyed utterly that which had been ſo long and ſo generally a ſnare unto them. It is not amiſs which the canon law hereupon concludeth, namely, *That if our predeceſſors have done ſome things which at that time might be without fault, and afterwards be turned to error and ſuperſtition; we are taught by Hezekiah breaking the brazen ſerpent, that poſterity may deſtroy them without any delay, and with great authority.* But may it be ſimply and without exception hereby gathered, that poſterity is bound to deſtroy whatſoever hath been either at the firſt invented, or but afterwards turned to like ſuperſtition and error? No, it cannot be. The ſerpent therefore, and the ſign of the Croſs, although ſeeming equal in this point, that ſuperſtition hath abuſed both; yet being herein alſo unequal, that neither they have been both ſubject to the like degree of abuſe, nor were in hardneſs of redreſs alike, it may be, that even as the one for abuſe was religiouſly taken away, ſo now, when Religion hath taken away abuſe from the other, we ſhould by utter abolition thereof deſerve hardly his commendation, whoſe example there has offered us no ſuch neceſſary cauſe to follow. For by the words of Hezekiah in terming the ſerpent but *a lump of braſs*, to ſhew that the beſt thing in it now was the metal or matter whereof it conſiſteth, we may probably conjecture, that the people whoſe error is therein controlled had the ſelf-ſame opinion of it which the Heathens had of idols. They thought that the power of Deity was with it; and when they ſaw it diſſolved, haply they might, to comfort themſelves, imagine as Olympius the Sophiſter did, beholding the diſſipation of idols, *Shapes and counterfeits they were, faſhioned of matter ſubject unto corruption, therefore to grind them to duſt was eaſy; but thoſe celeſtial powers which dwelt and reſided in them are aſcended into Heaven.* Some difference

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Dist. iii. Cyp. Quia.

Sozom. lib. vii. cap. 15.

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ference there is between theſe opinions of palpable idolatry, and that which the Schools in ſpeculation have bolted out concerning the Croſs. Notwithſtanding, for as much as the Church of Rome hath hitherto practiſed and doth profeſs the ſame adoration to the ſign of the Croſs, and neither leſs nor other than is due unto Chriſt himſelf, howſoever they varniſh and qualify their ſentence, pretending that the Croſs which to outward ſenſe preſenteth viſibly itſelf alone is not by them apprehended alone, but hath in their ſecret ſurmiſe or conceit a reference to the perſon of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; ſo that the honour which they jointly do to both reſpecteth principally his perſon, and the Croſs but only for his perſon's ſake; the people, not accuſtomed to trouble their wits with ſo nice and ſubtile differences in the exerciſe of Religion, are apparently no leſs enſnared by adoring the Croſs, than the Jews by burning incenſe to the brazen ſerpent. It is by Thomas ingenuouſly granted, that becauſe unto reaſonable creatures a kind of reverence is due for the excellency which is in them, and whereby they reſemble God, therefore if reaſonable creatures, angels, or men, ſhould receive at our hands holy and divine honour, as the ſign of the Croſs doth at theirs, to pretend that we honour not them alone, but we honour God with them, would not ſerve the turn, neither would this be able to prevent the error of men, or cauſe them always to reſpect God in their adorations, and not to finiſh their intents in the object next before them. But unto this he addeth, that no ſuch error can grow by adoring in that ſort a dead image, which every man knoweth to be void of excellency in itſelf, and therefore will eaſily conceive that the honour done unto it hath an higher reference. Howbeit, ſeeing that we have by over-true experience been taught how often, eſpecially in theſe days, the light even of common underſtanding faileth, ſurely their uſual adoration of the Croſs is not hereby freed. For in actions of this kind we are more to reſpect

Tho. pag. 3. q. 25. art. iii. Reſp. ad Tert.

ſpect what the greateſt part of men is commonly prone to conceive, than what ſome few men's wits may deviſe in conſtruction of their own particular meanings. Plain it is, that a falſe opinion of ſome perſonal divine excellency to be in thoſe things which either nature or art hath framed, cauſes always religious adoration: and as plain, that the like adoration applied unto things ſenſible argueth to vulgar capacities, yea leaveth imprinted in them, the very ſame opinion of Deity from whence all idolatrous worſhip groweth. Yea, the meaner and baſer a thing worſhipped is in itſelf, the more they incline to think that every man which doth adore it knoweth there is in it, or with it, a preſence of divine power. Be it therefore true, that croſſes purpoſely framed or uſed for receipt of divine honour be even as ſcandalous as the brazen ſerpent itſelf, where they are in ſuch ſort adored; ſhould we hereupon think ourſelves in the ſight of God and in conſcience charged to aboliſh utterly the very ceremony of the Croſs, neither meant at the firſt nor now converted unto any ſuch offenſive purpoſe? Did the Jews, which could never be perſuaded to admit in the city of Jeruſalem that image of Cæſar which the Romans were accuſtomed to[a] adore, make any ſcruple of Cæſar's image in the coin which they knew very well that men were not wont to worſhip? Between the Croſs which ſuperſtition honoureth as Chriſt, and that ceremony of the Croſs which ſerveth only for a ſign of remembrance, there is as plain and as great a difference as between thoſe brazen images which Solomon made to bear up the ciſtern of the Temple, and (ſith both were of like ſhape, but of unlike uſe) that which the Iſraelites in the wilderneſs did adore; or between the altars which Joſias deſtroyed,

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Joſeph. Antiquit. lib. xvii. cap. 8. & lib. xviii. cap. 3. & de Bell. lib. ii. cap. 8. Matth. xxii. 20.

2 Chron. iv. 3.

Exod. xxxii. 4. 2 Chron. xxxiv. 7.

[a] Their eagles, their enſigns, and the images of the princes, they carried with them in all their armies, and had always a kind of chapel wherein they placed and adored them as their gods. Dio. lib. xxx. Herodian. lib. iv.

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deſtroyed, becauſe they were inſtruments of mere idolatry, and that which the tribe of Reuben with others erected near to the river Jordan; for which alſo they grew at the firſt into ſome diſlike, and were by the reſt of their brethren ſuſpected, yea hardly charged with open breach of the Law of God, accuſed of backwardneſs in Religion, upbraided bitterly with the fact of Peor and the odious example of Achan; as if the building of their altar in that place had given manifeſt ſhew of no better than intended apoſtaſy, till by a true declaration made in their own defence it appeared that ſuch as miſliked, miſunderſtood their enterprize, in as much as they had no intent to build any altar for ſacrifice, which God would have no where offered ſaving in Jeruſalem only, but to a far other end and purpoſe, which being opened ſatisfied all parties, and ſo delivered them from cauſeleſs blame. In this particular, ſuppoſe the worſt; imagine that the immaterial ceremony of the Croſs had been the ſubject of as groſs pollution as any heatheniſh or profane idol. If we think the example of Hezekiah a proof that things which error and ſuperſtition hath abuſed may in no conſideration be tolerated, although we preſently find them not ſubject to ſo vile abuſe, the plain example of Hezekiah proveth the contrary. The temples and idols, which under Solomon had been of very purpoſe framed for the honour of foreign Gods, Hezekiah deſtroyed not; becauſe they ſtood as forlorn things, and did now no harm, although formerly they had done harm. Joſias for ſome inconvenience afterwards razed them up. Yet to both there is one commendation given even from God himſelf, that, touching matter of Religion, they walked in the ſteps of David, and did no way diſpleaſe God. Perhaps it ſeemeth that by force and virtue of this example, although in bare deteſtation and hatred of idolatry, all things which have been at any time worſhipped are not neceſſarily to be taken out of the world; nevertheleſs, for remedy and prevention of ſo great

Joſh. xxii. 10.

1 Kings xi. 7.

2 Kings xxiii. 13.

2 Kings xviii. 3, 6. and xxii. 2.

great offences, wiſdom ſhould judge it the ſafeſt courſe to remove altogether from the eyes of men that which may put them in mind of evil. Some kinds of evil, no doubt, there are, very quick in working on thoſe affections that moſt eaſily take fire, which evils ſhould in that reſpect no oftener than need requireth be brought in preſence of weak minds. But neither is the Croſs any ſuch evil, nor yet the brazen ſerpent itſelf ſo ſtrongly poiſoned, that our eyes, ears, and thoughts ought to ſhun them both, for fear of ſome deadly harm to enſue the only repreſentation thereof, by geſture, ſhape, ſound, or ſuch like ſignificant means. And for mine own part, I moſt aſſuredly perſuade myſelf, that had Hezekiah (till the days of whoſe moſt virtuous reign they ceaſed not continually to burn incenſe to the brazen ſerpent)—had he found the ſerpent, though ſometime adored, yet at that time recovered from the evil of ſo groſs abuſe, and reduced to the ſame that was before in the time of David, at which time they eſteemed it only as a memorial, ſign, or monument of God's miraculous goodneſs towards them, even as we in no other ſort eſteem the ceremony of the Croſs; the due conſideration of an uſe ſo harmleſs, common to both, might no leſs have wrought their equal preſervation, than different occaſions have procured notwithſtanding the one's extinguiſhment, the other's lawful continuance. In all perſuaſions, which ground themſelves upon example, we are not ſo much to reſpect what is done, as the cauſes and ſecret inducements leading thereunto. The queſtion being therefore, whether the ceremony, ſuppoſed to have been ſometimes ſcandalous and offenſive, ought for that cauſe to be now removed; there is no reaſon we ſhould forthwith yield ourſelves to be carried away with example, no not of them whoſe acts the higheſt judgment approveth for having reformed in that manner any public evil; but before we either attempt any thing or reſolve, the ſtate and condition as well of our own affairs as theirs, whoſe example preſſeth us, BOOK V.

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is adviſedly to be examined; becauſe ſome things are of their own nature ſcandalous, and cannot chooſe but breed offence, as thoſe ſinks of execrable filth which Joſias did overwhelm; ſome things, albeit not by nature, and of themſelves, are notwithſtanding ſo generally turned to evil by reaſon of an evil corrupt habit grown, and through long continuance incurably ſettled in the minds of the greateſt part, that no redreſs can be well hoped for without removal of that wherein they have ruined themſelves; which plainly was the ſtate of the Jewiſh people, and the cauſe why Hezekiah did with ſuch ſudden indignation deſtroy what he ſaw worſhipped; finally, ſome things are as the ſign of the Croſs, though ſubject either almoſt or altogether to as great abuſe, yet curable with more facility and eaſe. And to ſpeak as the truth is, our very nature doth hardly yield to deſtroy that which may be fruitfully kept, and without any great difficulty clean ſcoured from the ruſt of evil which by ſome accident hath grown into it. Wherefore to that which they build in this queſtion upon the example of Hezekiah let this ſuffice. When Heathens deſpiſed Chriſtian Religion becauſe of the ſufferings of Jeſus Chriſt, the Fathers, to teſtify how little ſuch contumelies and contempts prevailed with them, choſe rather the ſign of the Croſs than any other outward mark, whereby the world might moſt eaſily diſcern always what they were. On the contrary ſide now, whereas they which do all profeſs the Chriſtian Religion are divided amongſt themſelves; and the fault of the one part is, that in zeal to the ſufferings of Chriſt they admire too much, and over-ſuperſtitiouſly adore the viſible ſign of his Croſs; if you aſk what we that miſlike them ſhould do, we are here adviſed to cure one contrary by another. Which art or method is not yet ſo current as they imagine. For if, as their practice for the moſt part ſheweth, it be their meaning that the ſcope and drift of reformation, when things are faulty, ſhould be to ſettle the Church in the contrary; it

2 Kings xxiii. 7.

ſtandeth

ſtandeth them upon to beware of this rule, becauſe ſeeing vices have not only virtues, but other vices alſo in nature oppoſite unto them, it may be dangerous in theſe caſes to ſeek but that which we find contrary to preſent evils. For in ſores and ſickneſſes of the mind, we are not ſimply to meaſure good by diſtance from evil, becauſe one vice may in ſome reſpect be more oppoſite to another, than either of them to that virtue which holdeth the mean between them both. Liberality and covetouſneſs, the one a virtue and the other a vice, are not ſo contrary as the vices of covetouſneſs and prodigality. Religion and ſuperſtition have more affiance, though the one be light and the other darkneſs, than ſuperſtition and profaneneſs, which both are vicious extremities. By means whereof it cometh alſo to paſs, that the mean, which is virtue, ſeemeth in the eyes of each extreme an extremity: the liberal hearted man is by the opinion of the prodigal miſerable, and by the judgment of the miſerable laviſh; Impiety for the moſt part upbraideth Religion as ſuperſtitious, which Superſtition often accuſeth as impious; both ſo conceiving thereof, becauſe it doth ſeem more to participate each extreme than one extreme doth another, and is by conſequent leſs contrary to either of them, than they mutually between themſelves. Now, if he that ſeeketh to reform covetouſneſs or ſuperſtition ſhould but labour to induce the contrary, it were but to draw men out of lime into coal-duſt: ſo that their courſe, which will remedy the ſuperſtitious abuſe of things profitable in the Church, is not ſtill to aboliſh utterly the uſe thereof, becauſe not uſing at all is moſt oppoſite to ill uſing; but rather, if it may be, to bring them back to a right, perfect, and religious uſage, which, albeit leſs contrary to the preſent ſore, is notwithſtanding the better and by many degrees the ſounder way of recovery: and unto this effect, that very precedent itſelf which they propoſe may be beſt followed. For as the Fathers, when the Croſs of Chriſt was in utter con- BOOK V.

tempt,

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tempt, did not ſuperſtitiouſly adore the ſame, but rather declare that they ſo eſteemed it as was meet; in like manner where we find the Croſs to have that honour which is due to Chriſt, is it not as lawful for us to retain it in that eſtimation which it ought to have, and in that uſe which it had of old without offence, as by taking it clean away to ſeem followers of their example which cure wilfully by abſciſſion that which they might both preſerve and heal? Touching therefore the ſign and ceremony of the Croſs, we no way find ourſelves bound to relinquiſh it; neither becauſe the firſt inventors thereof were but mortal men; nor leſt the ſenſe and ſignification we give unto it ſhould burden us as authors of a new Goſpel in the Houſe of God; nor in reſpect of ſome cauſe which the Fathers had more than we have to uſe the ſame; nor, finally, for any ſuch offence or ſcandal as heretofore it hath been ſubject unto by error, now reformed in the minds of men.

Of Confirmation after Baptiſm.

66. The ancient cuſtom of the Church was, after they had baptized, to add thereunto impoſition of hands with effectual prayer for the [a] illumination of God's moſt holy Spirit, to confirm and perfect that which the grace of the ſame Spirit had already begun in Baptiſm. For our means to obtain the graces which God doth beſtow are our prayers. Our prayers to that intent are available as well for others as for ourſelves. To pray for others, is to bleſs them for whom we pray; becauſe prayer procureth the bleſſing of God upon them, eſpecially the prayer of ſuch as God either moſt reſpecteth for their piety and zeal that way, or elſe regardeth for that their place and calling bindeth them above others unto this duty, as it doth both by natural and ſpiritual fathers. With prayers of ſpiritual and perſonal benediction the manner hath been in all ages to uſe impoſition of hands, as a ce-

[a] Caro Tinctus impoſitione adumbratur, ut et anima Spiritu illuminetur. Tertul. de Reſur. Car.

remony

remony betokening our reſtrained deſires to the party whom we preſent unto God by prayer. Thus when Iſrael bleſſed Ephraim and Manaſſes, Joſeph's ſons, he impoſed upon them his hands, and prayed; *God, in whoſe ſight my fathers Abraham and Iſaac did walk; God, which hath fed me all my life long unto this day, and the Angel which hath delivered me from all evil, bleſs theſe children.* The Prophets which healed diſeaſes by prayer uſed therein the ſelf-ſame ceremony. And therefore when Eliſha willed Naaman to waſh himſelf ſeven times in Jordan for cure of his foul diſeaſe, it much offended him; *I thought* (ſaith he) *with myſelf, Surely the man will come forth, and ſtand, and call upon the name of the Lord his God, and put his hand on the place, to the end he may ſo heal the leproſy.* In conſecrations and ordinations of men unto rooms of divine calling, the like was uſually done from the time of Moſes to Chriſt. Their ſuits that came unto Chriſt for help were alſo tendered oftentimes, and are expreſſed in ſuch forms or phraſes of ſpeech, as ſhew that he was himſelf an obſerver of the ſame cuſtom. He which with impoſition of hands and prayer did ſo great works of mercy for reſtauration of bodily health, was worthily judged as able to effect the infuſion of heavenly grace into them, whoſe age was not yet depraved with that malice which might be ſuppoſed a bar to the goodneſs of God towards them. *They brought him* therefore *young children to put his hands upon them and pray.* After the aſcenſion of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, that which he had begun continued in the daily practice of his Apoſtles, whoſe prayer and impoſition of hands were a mean whereby thouſands became partakers of the wonderful gifts of God. The Church had received from Chriſt a promiſe, that ſuch as believed in him, theſe ſigns and tokens ſhould follow them; *To caſt out devils, to ſpeak with tongues, to drive away ſerpents, to be free from the harm which any deadly poiſon could work, and to cure diſeaſes by impoſition of hands.* Which power, common

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Gen. xlviii. 14, 15, 16.

2 Kings, v. 11.

Num. xxvii. 18.

Matth. ix. 18. Mark v. 23. viii. 22.

Matth. xix. 13. Mark x. 13. Luke xviii. 15.

Mark xvi. 17, 18.

at

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Acts xix. 6. God to inſtruct, convert, and baptize them, the gift of miraculous operations by the power of the Holy Ghoſt they had not, but only at the Apoſtles' own
Acts viii. 17, 18. hands. For which cauſe Simon Magus, perceiving that power to be in none but them, and preſuming that they which had it might ſell it, ſought to purchaſe it of them with money. And, as miraculous graces of the Spirit continued after the Apoſtles'
Iren. lib. ii. cap. 57. p. 218. B. ed. Par. times, (*for*, ſaith Irenæus, *they which are truly his diſciples do, in his name, and through grace received from him, ſuch works for the benefit of other men, as every of them is by him enabled to work.—Some caſt out devils, in ſo much, as they which are delivered from wicked ſpirits have been thereby won unto Chriſt, and do conſtantly perſevere in the Church and ſociety of faithful men; ſome excel in the knowledge of things to come, in the grace of viſions from God, and the gift of prophetical prediction: ſome by laying on their hands reſtore them to health, which are grievouſly afflicted with ſickneſs; yea, there are that of dead have been made alive, and have afterwards many years converſed with us. What ſhould I ſay? The gifts are innumerable wherewith God hath enriched his Church throughout the world, and by virtue whereof, in the name of Chriſt crucified under Pontius Pilate, the Church every day doth many wonders for the good of nations, neither fraudulently nor in any reſpect of lucre and gain to herſelf, but as freely beſtowing, as God on her hath beſtowed his divine graces*;) ſo it no where appeareth, that ever any did by prayer and impoſition of hands, ſithence the Apoſtles' times, make others partakers of the like miraculous gifts and graces, as long as it pleaſed God to continue the ſame in his Church, but only Biſhops, the Apoſtles' ſucceſſors, for a time, even in that power. St. Auguſtine acknowledgeth, that ſuch gifts were not permitted to laſt always, leſt men ſhould wax cold with the commonneſs

neſs of that, the ſtrangeneſs whereof at the firſt inflamed them. Which words of St. Auguſtine, declaring how the vulgar uſe of theſe miracles was then expired, are no prejudice to the like extraordinary graces, more rarely obſerved in ſome, either then or of latter days. Now whereas the ſucceſſors of the Apoſtles had but only for a time ſuch power, as by prayer and impoſition of hands to beſtow the Holy Ghoſt; the reaſon wherefore Confirmation, nevertheleſs, by prayer and laying on of hands hath hitherto always continued is for other very ſpecial benefits which the Church thereby enjoyeth. The Fathers every where impute unto it that gift or grace of the Holy Ghoſt, not which maketh us firſt Chriſtian men, but, when we are made ſuch, aſſiſteth us in all virtue, armeth us againſt temptation and ſin. For, after Baptiſm adminiſtered, *there followeth* (ſaith Tertullian) *impoſition of hands, with invocation and invitation of the Holy Ghoſt,—which willingly cometh down from the Father, to reſt upon the purified and bleſſed bodies, as it were acknowledging the waters of Baptiſm a fit ſeat.* St. Cyprian in more particular manner alluding to that effect of the Spirit, which here eſpecially was reſpected, *How great* (ſaith he) *is that power and force wherewith the mind is here* (he meaneth in Baptiſm) *enabled, being not only withdrawn from that pernicious hold which the world before had of it, nor only ſo purified and made clean, that no ſtain or blemiſh of the enemies' invaſion doth remain; but over and beſides* (namely, through prayer and impoſition of hands) *becometh yet greater, yet mightier in ſtrength, ſo far as to reign with a kind of imperial dominion over the whole band of that roaming and ſpoiling adverſary.* As much is ſignified by Euſebius Emiſſenus, ſaying, *The Holy Ghoſt which deſcendeth with ſaving influence upon the waters of Baptiſm doth there give that fulneſs which ſufficeth for innocency, and afterwards exhibiteth in Confirmation an augmentation of further grace.* The Fathers therefore being thus perſuaded held Confirmation as an

Auguſt. de Vera Relig. cap. 25.

Tertul. de Baptiſ. fect. vii. p. 258. ed. Par.

Cypr. Tract. ad Donat. p. 4. ed. Oxon.

Euſeb. Emiſ. Ser. de Pente.

Aug. de Trin. lib. xv. cap. 26.

Heb. vi. 2.

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an Ordinance Apoſtolic, always profitable in God's Church, although not always accompanied with equal largeneſs of thoſe external effects which gave it countenance at the firſt. The cauſe of ſevering Confirmation from Baptiſm (for moſt commonly they went together) was ſometimes in the miniſter, which being of inferior degree, might baptize but not confirm, as in their caſe it came to paſs whom Peter and John did confirm, whereas Philip had before baptized them; and in theirs of whom St. Jerom hath ſaid, *I deny not but the cuſtom of the Churches is that the Biſhop ſhould go abroad, and, impoſing his hands, pray for the gift of the Holy Ghoſt on them whom Preſbyters and Deacons far off, in leſſer cities, have already baptized.* Which ancient cuſtom of the Church St. Cyprian groundeth upon the example of Peter and John in the eighth of the Acts before alleged. *The faithful in Samaria* (ſaith he) *had already obtained Baptiſm; only that which was wanting Peter and John ſupplied by prayer and impoſition of hands, to the end the Holy Ghoſt might be poured upon them. Which alſo is done amongſt ourſelves, when they which be already baptized are brought to the Prelates of the Church to obtain by their prayer and impoſition of hands the Holy Ghoſt.* By this it appeareth, that when the miniſters of Baptiſm were perſons of inferior degree, the Biſhops did after confirm whom ſuch had before baptized. Sometimes they which by force of their eccleſiaſtical calling might do as well the one as the other, were notwithſtanding men whom hereſy had disjoined from the fellowſhip of true believers. Whereupon, when any man by them baptized and confirmed came afterwards to ſee and renounce their error, there grew in ſome Churches very hot contention about the manner of admitting ſuch into the boſom of the true Church, as hath been declared already in the queſtion of rebaptization. But the generally received cuſtom was only to admit them with impoſition of hands and prayer. Of which cuſtom, while ſome imagined the reaſon to be, for that

Acts viii. 12—17.

Hieron. adverſ. Lucifer. tom. iv. p. 295. ed. Par.

Cypr. Epiſt. lxxiii. ad Jubajanum, p. 202. Epiſt. ed. Oxon.

that Heretics might give remiſſion of ſins by Baptiſm, but not the Spirit by impoſition of hands, becauſe themſelves had not God's Spirit; and that therefore their Baptiſm might ſtand, but Confirmation muſt be given again; the imbecility of this ground gave Cyprian occaſion to oppoſe himſelf againſt the practice of the Church herein, labouring many ways to prove, that Heretics could do neither; and conſequently, that their Baptiſm in all reſpects was as fruſtrate as their chriſm; for the manner of thoſe times was in confirming to uſe anointing. On the other ſide, againſt Luciferians which ratified only the Baptiſm of Heretics, but diſannulled their confirmations and conſecrations, under pretence of the reaſon which hath been before ſpecified, *Heretics cannot give the Holy Ghoſt*, St. Jerom proveth at large, that if Baptiſm by Heretics be granted available to remiſſion of ſins, which no man receiveth without the Spirit, it muſt needs follow, that the reaſon taken from diſability of beſtowing the Holy Ghoſt was no reaſon wherefore the Church ſhould admit converts with any new impoſition of hands. Notwithſtanding, becauſe it might be objected, that if the gift of the Holy Ghoſt do always join itſelf with true Baptiſm, the Church, which thinketh the Biſhop's Confirmation after other men's Baptiſm needful for the obtaining of the Holy Ghoſt, ſhould hold an error; St. Jerom hereunto maketh anſwer, that the cauſe of this obſervation is not any abſolute impoſſibility of receiving the Holy Ghoſt by the Sacrament of Baptiſm, unleſs a Biſhop add after it the impoſition of hands, but rather a certain congruity and fitneſs to honour prelacy with ſuch pre-eminences, becauſe the ſafety of the Church dependeth upon the dignity of her chief ſuperiors, to whom if ſome eminent offices of power above others ſhould not be given, there would be in the Church as many ſchiſms as prieſts. By which anſwer it appeareth his opinion was, that the Holy Ghoſt is received in Baptiſm;

BOOK V. that Confirmation is only a ſacramental complement; that the reaſon why Biſhops alone did ordinarily confirm, was not becauſe the benefit, grace, and dignity thereof is greater than of Baptiſm; but rather, for that by the Sacrament of Baptiſm men being admitted into God's Church, it was both reaſonable and convenient that if he baptize them not unto whom the chiefeſt authority and charge of their ſouls be-
Heb. vii. 7. longeth, yet for honour's ſake, and in token of his ſpiritual ſuperiority over them, becauſe to bleſs is an act of authority, the performance of this annexed ceremony ſhould be ſought for at his hands. Now what effect their impoſition of hands hath, either after Baptiſm adminiſtered by Heretics or otherwiſe, St. Jerom in that place hath made no mention, becauſe all men underſtood that in converts it tendeth to the fruits of repentance, and craveth in behalf of
Pſal. li. 10, 11, 12. the penitent ſuch grace as David after his fall deſired at the hands of God; in others, the fruit and benefit thereof is that which hath been before ſhewed. Finally, ſometime the cauſe of ſevering Confirmation from Baptiſm was in the parties that received Baptiſm being infants, at which age they might be very well admitted to live in the family; but becauſe to fight in the army of God, to diſcharge the duties of a Chriſtian man, to bring forth the fruits, and to do the works of the Holy Ghoſt, their time of ability was not yet come, (ſo that Baptiſm were not deferred,) there could, by ſtay of their Confirmation, no harm enſue, but rather good. For by this means it came to paſs, that children in expectation thereof were ſeaſoned with the principles of true Religion, before malice and corrupt examples depraved their minds, a good foundation was laid betimes for direction of the courſe of their whole lives, the ſeed of the Church of God was preſerved ſincere and ſound, the Prelates and Fathers of God's family, to whom the cure of their ſouls belongeth, ſaw by trial and examination of them, a part of their own heavy burden diſcharged,

reaped

reaped comfort by beholding the firſt beginnings of true godlineſs in tender years, glorified him whoſe praiſe they found in the mouths of infants, and neglected not ſo fit opportunity of giving every one fatherly encouragement and exhortation. Whereunto impoſition of hands and prayer being added, our warrant for the great good effect thereof is the ſame which Patriarchs, Prophets, Prieſts, Apoſtles, Fathers, and men of God have had for ſuch their particular invocations and benedictions, as no man, I ſuppoſe, profeſſing truth of Religion, will eaſily think to have been without fruit. No, there is no cauſe we ſhould doubt of the benefit, but ſurely great cauſe to make complaint of the deep neglect of this Chriſtian duty almoſt with all them, to whom, by right of their place and calling, the ſame belongeth. Let them not take it in evil part, the thing is true, their ſmall regard hereunto hath done harm in the Church of God. That which [a] error raſhly uttereth

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[a] T. C. l. i. p. 199. Tell me why there ſhould be any ſuch Confirmation in the Church, being brought in by the feigned Decretal Epiſtles of the Popes, (this is retracted by the ſame T. C. lib. iii. pag. 232. That it is ancienter than the feigned Decretal Epiſtles, I yield unto,) and no one tittle thereof being once found in the Scripture, and ſeeing that it hath been ſo horribly abuſed, and not neceſſary; why ought it not to be utterly aboliſhed? And thirdly, this Confirmation hath many dangerous points in it. The firſt ſtep of Popery in this Confirmation, is the laying on of hands upon the head of the child, whereby the opinion of it, that it is a Sacrament, is confirmed; eſpecially when as the prayer doth ſay, that it is done according to the example of the Apoſtles, which is a manifeſt untruth, and taken indeed from the Popiſh Confirmation. The ſecond is, for that the Biſhop, as he is called, muſt be the only miniſter of it; whereby the Popiſh opinion, which eſteemeth it above Baptiſm, is confirmed. For whilſt Baptiſm may be miniſtered of the miniſter, and not Confirmation, but only of the Biſhop; there is a great cauſe of ſuſpicion given to think that Baptiſm is not ſo precious a thing as Confirmation, ſeeing this was one of the principal reaſons whereby that wicked opinion was eſtabliſhed in Popery. I do not here ſpeak of the inconvenience, that men are conſtrained with charges to bring their children oftentimes half a ſcore miles for that, which if it were needful might be as well done

BOOK V. in diſgrace of good things, may peradventure be ſpunged out, when the print of thoſe evils which are grown through neglect will remain behind. Thus much therefore, generally ſpoken, may ſerve for anſwer unto their demands that require us to tell them, *why there ſhould be any ſuch Confirmation in the Church*, ſeeing we are not ignorant how earneſtly they have proteſted againſt it; and how directly (although untruly, for ſo they are content to acknowledge) it hath by ſome of them been ſaid, *to be firſt brought in by the feigned Decretal Epiſtles of the Popes*; or, why it ſhould not be *utterly aboliſhed, ſeeing that no one tittle thereof can be once found in the whole Scripture*, except the Epiſtle to the Hebrews be Scripture. And again, ſeeing that how free ſoever it be now from abuſe, if we look back to the times paſt which wiſe men do always more reſpect than the preſent, it hath been abuſed, and is found at the length no ſuch profitable ceremony, as the whole ſilly Church of Chriſt for the ſpace of theſe ſixteen hundred years hath, through want of experience, imagined. Laſt of all, ſeeing alſo, beſides the cruelty which is ſhewn towards poor country people, who are fain ſometimes to let their ploughs ſtand ſtill, and, with incredible wearifome toil of their feeble bodies, to wander over mountains and through woods, it may be now and then little leſs than a whole half-ſcore of miles for a Biſhop's bleſſing, *which, if it were needful, might as well be done at home in their own pariſhes, rather than they to purchaſe it with ſo great loſs and ſo intolerable pain.* There are, they ſay, in Confirmation, beſides

Heb. vi. 2.

done at home in their own pariſhes. The third is, for that the book ſaith, a cauſe of uſing Confirmation is, that by impoſition of hands and prayer the children may receive ſtrength and defence againſt all temptations, whereas there is no promiſe, that, by the laying on of hands upon children, any ſuch gift ſhall be given; and it maintaineth the Popiſh diſtinction, that the Spirit of God is given at Baptiſm unto remiſſion of ſins, and in Confirmation, unto ſtrength.

this,

this, three terrible points. The firſt is, *Laying on of hands, with pretence that the ſame is done to the example of the Apoſtles*, which is not only, as they ſuppoſe, *a manifeſt untruth*, (for all the world doth know that the Apoſtles did never after Baptiſm lay hands on any, and therefore St. Luke, which ſaith they did, was much deceived;) but farther alſo, we thereby teach men to think *Impoſition of Hands a Sacrament*, belike, becauſe it is a principle ingrafted by common light of nature in the minds of men, that all things done by Apoſtolic example muſt needs be Sacraments. The ſecond high point of danger is, *that, by tying Confirmation to the Biſhop alone, there is great cauſe of ſuſpicion given to think that Baptiſm is not ſo precious a thing as Confirmation:* for will any man think that a velvet coat is of more price than a linen coif, knowing the one to be an ordinary garment, the other an ornament which only Serjeants at Law do wear? Finally, to draw to an end of perils, the laſt and the weightieſt hazard is, where the book itſelf doth ſay, that children by impoſition of hands and prayer may receive ſtrength againſt all temptation; which ſpeech, as a two-edged ſword, doth both ways dangerouſly wound; partly becauſe it aſcribeth grace to impoſition of hands, whereby we are able no more to aſſure ourſelves, in the warrant of any promiſe from God, that his heavenly grace ſhall be given, than the Apoſtle was that himſelf ſhould obtain grace by the bowing of his knees to God; and partly, becauſe by uſing the very word *ſtrength* in this matter, a word ſo apt to ſpread infection, we maintain with Popiſh Evangeliſts an old forlorn diſtinction of the Holy Ghoſt beſtowed upon Chriſt's Apoſtles before his aſcenſion into heaven, and augmented upon them afterwards; a diſtinction of grace infuſed into Chriſtian men by degrees; planted in them at the firſt by Baptiſm, after cheriſhed, watered, and (be it ſpoken without offence) ſtrengthened, as by other virtuous offices

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Acts viii. 15, 17.

Epheſ. iii. 14.

John xx. 22. Acts i. 8.

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which Piety and true Religion teacheth, even ſo by this very ſpecial benediction whereof we ſpeak, the rite or ceremony of Confirmation.

Of the Sacrament of the body and blood of Chriſt.

67. The grace which we have by the holy Euchariſt doth not begin but continue life. No man therefore receiveth this Sacrament before Baptiſm, becauſe no dead thing is capable of nouriſhment. That which groweth muſt of neceſſity firſt live. If our bodies did not daily waſte, food to reſtore them were a thing ſuperfluous. And it may be that the grace of Baptiſm would ſerve to eternal life, were it not that the ſtate of our ſpiritual being is daily ſo much hindered and impaired after Baptiſm. In that life therefore, where neither body nor ſoul can decay, our ſouls ſhall as little require this Sacrament, as our bodies corporal nouriſhment. But as long as the days of our warfare laſt, during the time that we are both ſubject to diminution and capable of augmentation in grace, the words of our Lord and Saviour Chriſt will remain forcible; *Except ye eat the fleſh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you.* Life being therefore propoſed unto all men as their end, they, which by Baptiſm have laid the foundation and attained the firſt beginning of a new life, have here their nouriſhment and food preſcribed for continuance of life in them. Such as will live the life of God, muſt eat the fleſh and drink the blood of the Son of Man; becauſe this is a part of that diet, which if we want we cannot live. Whereas therefore in our infancy we are incorporated into Chriſt, and by Baptiſm receive the grace of his Spirit without any ſenſe or feeling of the gift which God beſtoweth; in the Euchariſt we ſo receive the gift of God, that we know by grace what the grace is which God giveth us; the degrees of our own increaſe in holineſs and virtue we ſee, and knowledge of them; we underſtand that the ſtrength of our life begun in Chriſt, is Chriſt, that his fleſh is meat, and his blood drink, not by ſurmiſed imagination,

John vi. 53.

gination, but truly, even ſo truly, that through faith we perceive in the body and blood ſacramentally preſented the very taſte of eternal life; the grace of the Sacrament is here as the food which we eat and drink. This was it that ſome did exceedingly fear, leſt Zuinglius and Oecolampadius would bring to paſs that men ſhould account of this Sacrament but only as of a ſhadow, deſtitute, empty, and void of Chriſt. But ſeeing, that, by opening the ſeveral opinions which have been held, they are grown, for ought I can ſee, on all ſides at the length to a general agreement concerning that which alone is material, namely, the real participation of Chriſt, and of life in his body and blood, by means of this Sacrament; wherefore ſhould the world continue ſtill diſtracted, and rent with ſo manifold contentions, when there remaineth now no controverſy, ſaving only about the ſubject where Chriſt is? Yea, even in this point no ſide denieth, but that the ſoul of man is the receptacle of Chriſt's preſence. Whereby the queſtion is yet driven to a narrower iſſue, nor doth any thing reſt doubtful but this; whether, when the Sacrament is adminiſtered, Chriſt be whole within man only, or elſe his body and blood be alſo externally ſeated in the very conſecrated elements themſelves. Which opinion they that defend are driven either to conſubſtantiate and incorporate Chriſt with elements ſacramental, or to tranſubſtantiate and change their ſubſtance into his; and ſo the one to hold him really, but inviſibly, moulded up with the ſubſtance of thoſe elements, the other to hide him under the only viſible ſhew of bread and wine, the ſubſtance whereof, as they imagine, is aboliſhed, and his ſucceeded in the ſame room. All things conſidered, and compared with that ſucceſs which truth hath hitherto had by ſo bitter conflicts with errors in this point, ſhall I wiſh that men would more give themſelves to meditate with ſilence what we have by the Sacrament, and leſs to diſpute of the manner how? If any

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any man ſuppoſe that this were too great ſtupidity and dulneſs, let us ſee whether the Apoſtles of our Lord themſelves have not done the like. It appeareth by many examples, that they of their own diſpoſition were very ſcrupulous and inquiſitive, yea in other caſes of leſs importance, and leſs difficulty, always apt to move queſtions. How cometh it to paſs, that ſo few words of ſo high a myſtery being uttered, they receive with gladneſs the gift of Chriſt, and make no ſhew of doubt or ſcruple? The reaſon hereof is not dark to them which have any thing at all obſerved how the powers of the mind are wont to ſtir, when that which we infinitely long for preſenteth itſelf above and beſides expectation. Curious and intricate ſpeculations do hinder, they abate, they quench ſuch inflamed motions of delight and joy as divine graces uſe to raiſe when extraordinarily they are preſent. The mind therefore, feeling preſent joy, is always marvellous unwilling to admit any other cogitation, and in that caſe caſteth off thoſe diſputes whereunto the intellectual part at other times eaſily draweth. A manifeſt effect whereof may be noted, if we compare with our Lord's Diſciples, in the twentieth of John, the people that are ſaid in the ſixth of John to have gone after him to Capernaum. Theſe leaving him on the one ſide of the ſea of Tiberias, and finding him again as ſoon as themſelves by ſhip were arrived on the contrary ſide, whither they knew that by ſhip he came not, and by land the journey was longer than according to the time he could have to travel, as they wondered, ſo they aſked alſo, *Rabbi, when cameſt thou hither?* The Diſciples, when Chriſt appeared to them in far more ſtrange and miraculous manner, moved no queſtion, but rejoiced greatly in what they ſaw. For why? The one ſort beheld only that in Chriſt which they knew was more than natural, but yet their affection was not wrapt therewith through any great extraordinary gladneſs; the other, when they looked on Chriſt,

John vi. 25.

were

were not ignorant that they ſaw the well-ſpring of their own everlaſting felicity; the one, becauſe they enjoyed not, diſputed; the other diſputed not, becauſe they enjoyed. If then the preſence of Chriſt with them did ſo much move, judge what their thoughts and affections were at the time of this new preſentation of Chriſt, not before their eyes, but within their ſouls. They had learned before that his fleſh and blood are the true cauſe of eternal life; that this they are not by the bare force of their own ſubſtance, but through the dignity and worth of his perſon, which offered them up by way of ſacrifice for the life of the whole world, and doth make them ſtill effectual thereunto: finally, that to us they are life in particular, by being particularly received. Thus much they knew, although as yet they underſtood not perfectly to what effect or iſſue the ſame would come, till at the length being aſſembled for no other cauſe which they could imagine but to have eaten the Paſſover only, that Moſes appointed, when they ſaw their Lord and Maſter, with hands and eyes lifted up to heaven, firſt bleſs and conſecrate, for the endleſs good of all generations till the world's end, the choſen elements of bread and wine; which elements, made for ever the inſtruments of life by virtue of his divine benediction, they being the firſt that were commanded to receive from him, the firſt which were warranted by his promiſe, that not only unto them at the preſent time, but to whomſoever they and their ſucceſſors after them did duly adminiſter the ſame, thoſe myſteries ſhould ſerve as conducts of life, and conveyances of his body and blood unto them; was it poſſible they ſhould hear that voice, *Take, eat, this is my body*; *drink ye all of this, this is my blood*; poſſible, that doing what was required, and believing what was promiſed, the ſame ſhould have preſent effect in them, and not fill them with a kind of fearful admiration at the heaven which they ſaw in themſelves? They had at that time a ſea of comfort and joy to wade in, and

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and we by that which they did are taught that this heavenly food is given for the ſatisfying of our empty ſouls, and not for the exerciſing of our curious and ſubtile wits. If we doubt what thoſe admirable words may import, let him be our teacher for the meaning of Chriſt, to whom Chriſt was himſelf a ſchoolmaſter; let our Lord's Apoſtle be his interpreter, content we ourſelves with his explication; My body, *the communion of my body*: my blood, *the communion of my blood*. Is there any thing more expedite, clear, and eaſy, than that as Chriſt is termed our life, becauſe through him we obtain life; ſo the parts of this Sacrament are his body and blood, for that they are ſo to us, who receiving them, receive that by them which they are termed? The bread and cup are his body and blood, becauſe they are cauſes inſtrumental, upon the receipt whereof the participation of his body and blood enſueth. For that which produceth any certain effect is not vainly nor improperly ſaid to be that very effect whereunto it tendeth. Every cauſe is in the effect which groweth from it. Our ſouls and bodies quickened to eternal life are effects, the cauſe whereof is the perſon of Chriſt; his body and blood are the true well-ſpring out of which this life floweth. So that his body and blood are in that very ſubject whereunto they miniſter life; not only by effect or operation, even as the influence of the heavens is in plants, beaſts, men, and in every thing which they quicken; but alſo by a far more divine and myſtical kind of union, which maketh us one with him, even as he and the Father are one. The real preſence of Chriſt's moſt bleſſed body and blood is not therefore to be ſought for in the Sacrament, but in the worthy receiver of the Sacrament. And with this the very order of our Saviour's words agreeth, firſt, *Take and eat*; then, *This is my body which was broken for you*: firſt, *Drink ye all of this*; then followeth, *This is my blood of the New Teſtament, which is ſhed for many for the remiſſion*

Mark xiv. 22—24.

of

of ſins. I ſee not which way it ſhould be gathered by the words of Chriſt when and where the bread is his body, or the cup his blood; but only in the very heart and ſoul of him which receiveth them. As for the Sacraments, they really exhibit, but for aught we can gather out of that which is written of them, they are not really, nor do really contain in themſelves, that grace which with them, or by them, it pleaſeth God to beſtow. If on all ſides it be confeſſed that the grace of Baptiſm is poured into the ſoul of man; that by water we receive it, although it be neither ſeated in the water, nor the water changed into it; what ſhould induce men to think, that the grace of the Euchariſt muſt needs be in the Euchariſt before it can be in us that receive it? The fruit of the Euchariſt is the participation of the body and blood of Chriſt. There is no ſentence of holy Scripture which ſaith, that we cannot by this ſacrament be made partakers of his body and blood, except they be firſt contained in the Sacrament, or the Sacrament converted into them. *This is my body*, and *This is my blood*, being words of promiſe, ſith we all agree, that by the Sacrament Chriſt doth really and truly in us perform his promiſe, why do we vainly trouble ourſelves with ſo fierce contentions, whether by conſubſtantiation, or elſe by tranſubſtantiation the Sacrament itſelf be firſt poſſeſſed with Chriſt, or no? A thing which no way can either further or hinder us, howſoever it ſtand, becauſe our participation of Chriſt in this Sacrament dependeth on the cooperation of his omnipotent power which maketh it his body and blood to us, whether with change or without alteration of the element, ſuch as they imagine, we need not greatly to care or enquire. Take therefore that wherein all agree, and then conſider by itſelf what cauſe why the reſt in queſtion ſhould not rather be left as ſuperfluous than urged as neceſſary. It is on all ſides plainly confeſſed, firſt, that this Sacrament is a true and a real participation of Chriſt, who thereby

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thereby imparteth himſelf, even his whole intire perſon, *as a myſtical head* unto every ſoul that receiveth him, and that every ſuch receiver doth thereby incorporate or unite himſelf unto Chriſt *as a myſtical member* of him, yea of them alſo whom he acknowledgeth to be his own. Secondly, that to whom *the perſon of Chriſt* is thus communicated, to them he giveth by the ſame Sacrament his holy Spirit to ſanctify them, as it ſanctifieth him which is their head. Thirdly, that what *merit, force, or virtue ſoever there is in his ſacred body and blood*, we freely, fully, and wholly have it by this Sacrament. Fourthly, that *the effect thereof in us is a real tranſmutation of our ſouls and bodies* from ſin to righteouſneſs, from death and corruption to immortality and life. Fifthly, that becauſe the Sacrament being of itſelf but a corruptible and earthly creature, muſt needs be thought an unlikely inſtrument to work ſo admirable effects in man, we are therefore to reſt ourſelves altogether upon *the ſtrength of his glorious power*, who is able and will bring to paſs, that the bread and cup which he giveth us ſhall be truly the thing he promiſeth. It ſeemeth therefore much amiſs, that againſt them whom they term Sacramentaries ſo many invective diſcourſes are made, all running upon two points, that the Euchariſt is not a bare ſign or figure only, and that the efficacy of his body and blood is not all we receive in this Sacrament. For no man, having read their books and writings which are thus traduced, can be ignorant that both theſe aſſertions they plainly confeſs to be moſt true. They do not ſo interpret the words of Chriſt, as if the name of his body did import but the figure of his body; and to be, were only to ſignify his blood. They grant that theſe holy myſteries, received in due manner, do inſtrumentally both make us partakers of the grace of that body and blood which were given for the life of the world, and beſides alſo impart unto us, even in true and real, though myſtical manner, the very perſon of our

our Lord himſelf, whole, perfect, and entire, as hath been ſhewed. Now whereas all three opinions do thus far accord in one, that ſtrong conceit which two of the three have embraced, as touching a literal, corporal, and oral manducation of the very ſubſtance of his fleſh and blood, is ſurely an opinion no where delivered in holy Scripture, whereby they ſhould think themſelves bound to believe it; and (to ſpeak with the ſofteſt terms we can uſe) greatly prejudiced in that, when ſome others did ſo conceive of eating his fleſh, our Saviour, to abate that error in them, gave them directly to underſtand how his fleſh ſo eaten could profit them nothing, becauſe the words which he ſpake were ſpirit; that is to ſay, they had a reference to a myſtical participation, which myſtical participation giveth life. Wherein there is ſmall appearance of likelihood that his meaning ſhould be only to make them Marcionites by inverſion, and to teach them, that as Marcion did think Chriſt ſeemed to be man, but was not, ſo they contrariwiſe ſhould believe that Chriſt in truth would ſo give them, as they thought, his fleſh to eat; but yet, leſt the horror thereof ſhould offend them, he would not ſeem to do that he did. When they which have this opinion of Chriſt in that bleſſed Sacrament go about to explain themſelves, and to open after what manner things are brought to paſs, the one ſort lay the union of Chriſt's Deity with his manhood, as their firſt foundation and ground: from thence they infer a power which the body of Chriſt hath, thereby to preſent itſelf in all places, out of which ubiquity of his body they gather the preſence thereof with that ſanctified bread and wine of our Lord's table; the conjunction of his body and blood with thoſe elements they uſe as an argument to ſhew how the bread may as well in that reſpect be termed his body, becauſe his body is therewith joined, as the Son of God may be named man, by reaſon that God and man in the perſon of Chriſt are united; to this they add, how the words of

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of Chriſt commanding us to eat muſt needs import, that as he hath coupled the ſubſtance of his fleſh and the ſubſtance of bread together, ſo we together ſhould receive both; which labyrinth as the other ſort doth juſtly ſhun, ſo the way which they take to the ſame inn is ſomewhat more ſhort, but no whit more certain. For through God's omnipotent power they imagine that tranſubſtantiation followeth upon the words of conſecration; and, upon tranſubſtantiation, the participation of Chriſt's both body and blood, in the only ſhape of ſacramental elements. So that they all three do plead God's omnipotency; Sacramentaries, to that alteration which the reſt confeſs he accompliſheth; the patrons of tranſubſtantiation, over and beſides that, to the change of one ſubſtance into another; the followers of conſubſtantiation, to the kneading of both ſubſtances, as it were, into one lump. Touching the ſentence of antiquity in this cauſe; firſt, for as much as they knew that the force of this Sacrament doth neceſſarily preſuppoſe the verity of Chriſt's both body and blood, they uſed oftentimes the ſame as an argument to prove, that Chriſt hath as truly the ſubſtance of man as of God, becauſe here we receive Chriſt, and thoſe graces which flow from him, in that he is man. So that if he have no ſuch being, neither can the Sacrament have any ſuch meaning as we all confeſs it hath. Thus [a] Tertullian, thus [b] Irenæus, thus

[a] Acceptum panem et diſtributum diſcipulis Corpus illum ſuum fecit, hoc eſt Corpus meum dicendo, id eſt figura corporis mei. Figura autem non fuiſſet niſi veritatis eſſet Corpus, cum vacua res quod eſt phantaſma figuram capere non poſſet. Tertul. contra Marc. lib. iv. cap. 40.

[b] Secundum hæc (that is to ſay, if it ſhould be true which Heretics have taught, denying that Chriſt took upon him the very nature of man) nec Dominus ſanguine ſuo redemit nos, neque calix Eucharistiæ communicatio ſanguinis ejus erit, nec panis quem frangimus communicatio corporis ejus eſt. Sanguis enim non eſt, niſi a venis et carnibus et a reliqua quæ eſt ſecundum hominem ſubſtantia. Iren. lib. v. cap. 11.

Theodoret

[a] Theodoret diſputeth. Again, as evident it is how they teach that Chriſt is perſonally there preſent, yea preſent whole, albeit a part of Chriſt be corporally abſent from thence, that [b] Chriſt, aſſiſting this heavenly banquet with his perſonal and true preſence, [c] doth by his own divine power add to the natural ſubſtance thereof ſupernatural efficacy, which [d] addition to the nature of thoſe conſecrated elements changeth them, and maketh them that unto us which otherwiſe they could not be, that to us they are thereby made ſuch inſtruments, as [e] myſtically yet BOOK V.

[a] Εἰ τοίνυν τῆ ὄντος σώματος ἀντίτυπά ἐστι τὰ θεῖα μυστήρια, σῶμα ἄρα ἐστὶ καὶ νῦν τῆ δεσπότου τὸ σῶμα, οὐκ εἰς θειότητος φύσιν μεταβληθὲν ἀλλὰ θείας δόξης ἀναπλησθέν. Theod. Dial. Ἀσύγχυτος.

[b] Sacramenta quidem quantum in ſe eſt ſine propria virtute eſſe non poſſunt, nec ullo modo ſe abſentat majeſtas myſteriis. Cypr. de Cœn. cap. vii.

[c] Sacramento viſibili ineffabiliter divina ſe infundit eſſentia ut eſſet Religioni circa Sacramenta devotio. Idem cap. vi. Inviſibilis Sacerdos viſibiles creaturas in ſubſtantiam corporis et ſanguinis ſui verbo ſuo ſecreta poteſtate convertit. In ſpiritualibus Sacramentis, verbi præcipit virtus et ſervit effectus. Euſeb. Emiſſen. Hom. v. de Paſch.

[d] Τὰ σύμβολα τῆ δεσποτικῆ σώματός τε καὶ αἵματος ἄλλα μὲν εἰσὶ πρὸ τῆς ἱερατικῆς ἐπιπλήσεως, μετὰ δέ γε τὴν ἐπίκλησιν μεταβάλλεται καὶ ἕτερα γίνεται. Ἀλλ' οὐκ οἰκείας ἐξίσταται φύσεως. Μένει γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας οὐσίας καὶ τῆ σχήματος καὶ τῆ εἴδους, κ) ὁρατά ἐστι καὶ ἅπτα οἷα καὶ πρότερον ἦν, νοεῖται δὲ ἅπερ ἐγένετο καὶ πιστεύεται καὶ προσκυνεῖται ὡς ἐκεῖνα ὄντα ἅπερ πιστεύεται. Theodor. Ex quo a Domino dictum eſt, Hoc facite in meam commemorationem, Hæc eſt caro mea, et, Hic eſt ſanguis meus, quotieſcunque his verbis et hac fide actum eſt, panis iſte ſuperſubſtantialis, et calix benedictione ſolenni ſacratus, ad totius hominis vitam ſalutemque proficit. Cypr. de Cœn. cap. iii. Vide Oper. Arnoldi, ad fin. Oper. Cypr. p. 59. ed. Ox. Immortalitatis alimonia datur, a communibus cibis differens, corporalis ſubſtantiæ retinens ſpeciem, ſed virtutis divinæ inviſibili efficientia probans adeſſe præſentiam. Ibid.

[e] Viſibilibus Sacramentis ineſt vitæ æternæ effectum, et non tam corporali quam ſpirituali tranſitione Chriſto unimur. Ipſe enim et panis et caro, et ſanguis, idem cibus, et ſubſtantia et vita factus eſt Eccleſiæ ſuæ quam corpus ſuum appellat, dans ei participationem ſpiritus. Ibid. p. 40. Noſtra et ipſius conjunctio nec miſcet perſonas, nec unit ſubſtantias, ſed effectus conſociat et conſirmat voluntates. Ibid. Manſio noſtra in ipſo eſt manducatio, et potus

quam

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truly, invisibly yet really, work our communion or fellowship with the person of Jesus Christ, as well in that he is man as God, our participation also in the fruit, grace, and efficacy of his body and blood; whereupon there ensueth a kind of transubstantiation in us, a true [a] change both of soul and body, an alteration from death to life. In a word, it appeareth not, that of all the ancient Fathers of the Church any one did ever conceive or imagine other than only a mystical participation of Christ's both body and blood in the Sacrament; neither are their speeches concerning the change of the elements themselves into the body and blood of Christ such, that a man can thereby in conscience assure himself it was their meaning to persuade the world, either of a corporal consubstantiation of Christ with those sanctified and blessed elements before we receive them, or of the like transubstantiation of them into the body and blood of Christ. Which both to our mystical communion with Christ are so unnecessary, that the Fathers who plainly hold but this mystical communion, cannot easily be thought to have meant any other change of sacramental elements,

quasi quædam incorporatio. Ibid. p. 41. Ille est in Patre per naturam Divinitatis, nos in eo per corporalem ejus Nativitatem, ille rursus in nobis per Sacramentorum mysterium. Hilar. de Trin. lib. viii.

[a] Panis hic azymus cibus verus et sincerus per speciem et Sacramentum nos tactu sanctificat, fide illuminat, veritate Christo conformat. Cypr. de Cœn. cap. vi. Non aliud agit participatio corporis et sanguinis Christi, quam ut in id quod sumimus transeamus, et in quo mortui et sepulti et corresuscitati sumus, ipsum per omnia et spiritu et carne gestemus. Leo de Pasch. Serm. xiv. Quemadmodum enim qui est a terra panis percipiens Dei vocationem (id est facta invocatione divini numinis) jam non communis panis est, sed Eucharistia ex duabus rebus constans, terrena et cœlesti; sic et corpora nostra percipientia Eucharistiam, jam non sunt corruptibilia, spem resurrectionis habentia. Iren. lib. iv. cap. 34. Quomodo [illegible] caro verbo Dei quod naturaliter vita est conjuncta, vivificata est; quando eam comedimus, tunc vitam habemus in nobis; illi carni conjuncti, quæ vita effecta est. Cyril. in Johan. lib. iv. cap. 14.

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than that which the ſame ſpiritual communion did require them to hold. Theſe things conſidered, how ſhould that mind which, loving truth and ſeeking comfort out of holy myſteries, hath not perhaps the leiſure, perhaps not the wit nor capacity to tread out ſo endleſs mazes as the intricate diſputes of this cauſe have led men into, how ſhould a virtuouſly diſpoſed mind better reſolve with itſelf than thus? *Variety of judgments and opinions argueth obſcurity in thoſe things whereabout they differ. But that which all parts receive for truth, that which every one having ſifted, is by no one denied or doubted of, muſt needs be matter of infallible certainty. Whereas therefore there are but three expoſitions made of,* This is my body; *the firſt, this is in itſelf before participation really and truly the natural ſubſtance of my body, by reaſon of the co-exiſtence which my omnipotent body hath with the ſanctified element of bread, which is the Lutherans' interpretation; the ſecond, this is in itſelf and before participation the very true and natural ſubſtance of my body, by force of that Deity, which with the words of conſecration aboliſheth the ſubſtance of bread, and ſubſtituteth in the place thereof my body, which is the Popiſh conſtruction; the laſt, this hallowed food, through concurrence of divine power, is in verity and truth, unto faithful receivers, inſtrumentally a cauſe of that myſtical participation, whereby as I make myſelf wholly theirs, ſo I give them in hand an actual poſſeſſion of all ſuch ſaving grace as my ſacrificed body can yield, and as their ſouls do preſently need, this is to them, and in them, my body: of theſe three rehearſed interpretations, the laſt hath in it nothing but what the reſt do all approve and acknowledge to be moſt true; nothing but that which the words of Chriſt are on all ſides confeſſed to enforce; nothing but that which the Church of God hath always thought neceſſary; nothing but that which alone is ſufficient for every Chriſtian man to believe concerning the uſe and force of this Sacrament; finally, nothing but that wherewith the writings of all antiquity are conſonant, and all Chriſtian confeſſions agreeable. And as*

 truth,

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truth, in what kind ſoever, is by no kind of truth gainſaid, ſo the mind, which reſteth itſelf on this, is never troubled with thoſe perplexities which the other do find, by means of ſo great contradiction between their opinions and true principles of reaſon grounded upon experience, nature, and ſenſe: which albeit, with boiſterous courage and breath, they ſeem oftentimes to blow away; yet whoſo obſerveth how again they labour and ſweat by ſubtilty of wit to make ſome ſhew of agreement between their peculiar conceits and the general edicts of nature, muſt needs perceive they ſtruggle with that which they cannot fully maſter. Beſides, ſith of that which is proper to themſelves, their diſcourſes are hungry and unpleaſant, full of tedious and irkſome labour, heartleſs, and hitherto without fruit; on the other ſide, read we them or hear we others, be they of our own or of ancienter times, to what part ſoever they be thought to incline, touching that whereof there is controverſy, yet in this, where they all ſpeak but one thing, their diſcourſes are heavenly, their words ſweet as the honey-comb, their tongues melodiouſly tuned inſtruments, their ſentences mere conſolation and joy, are we not hereby, almoſt even with voice from heaven, admoniſhed which we may ſafelieſt cleave unto? He which hath ſaid of the one Sacrament, Waſh and be clean, *hath ſaid concerning the other likewiſe,* Eat and live. *If therefore, without any ſuch particular and ſolemn warrant as this is, that poor diſtreſſed woman, coming unto Chriſt for health, could ſo conſtantly reſolve herſelf,* May I but touch the ſkirt of his garment, I ſhall be whole, *what moveth us to argue of the manner how life ſhould come by bread, our duty being here but to take what is offered, and moſt aſſuredly to reſt perſuaded of this, that can we but eat, we are ſafe? When I behold with mine eyes ſome ſmall and ſcarce diſcernible grain or ſeed, whereof nature maketh a promiſe that a tree ſhall come; and when afterwards of that tree any ſkilful artificer undertaketh to frame ſome exquiſite and curious work, I look for the event, I move no queſtion about performance either of the one or of the other. Shall I ſimply*

I ſimply credit nature in things natural? Shall I in things artificial rely myſelf on art, never offering to make doubt? and in that which is above both art and nature refuſe to believe the Author of both, except he acquaint me with his ways, and lay the ſecret of his ſkill before me? Where God himſelf doth ſpeak thoſe things which, either for height and ſublimity of the matter, or elſe for ſecreſy of performance, we are not able to reach unto, as we may be ignorant without danger, ſo it can be no diſgrace to confeſs we are ignorant. Such as love piety will, as much as in them lieth, know all things that God commandeth, but eſpecially the duties of ſervice which they owe to God. As for his dark and hidden works, they prefer, as becometh them in ſuch caſes, ſimplicity of faith before that knowledge, which, curiouſly ſifting what it ſhould adore, and diſputing too boldly of that which the wit of men cannot ſearch, chilleth for the moſt part all warmth of zeal, and bringeth ſoundneſs of belief many times into great hazard. Let it therefore be ſufficient for me, preſenting myſelf at the Lord's Table, to know what there I receive from him, without ſearching or enquiring of the manner how Chriſt performeth his promiſe; let diſputes and queſtions, enemies to piety, abatements of true devotion, and hitherto in this cauſe but over-patiently heard, let them take their reſt; let curious and ſharp-witted men beat their heads about what queſtions themſelves will; the very letter of the Word of Chriſt giveth plain ſecurity, that theſe myſteries do, as nails, faſten us to his very Croſs, that by them we draw out, as touching efficacy, force, and virtue, even the blood of his gored ſide; in the wounds of our Redeemer we there dip our tongues, we are dyed red both within and without; our hunger is ſatisfied, and our thirſt for ever quenched; they are things wonderful which he feeleth, great which he ſeeth, and unheard of which he uttereth, whoſe ſoul is poſſeſſed of this Paſchal Lamb, and made joyful in the ſtrength of this new wine; this bread hath in it more than the ſubſtance which our eyes behold, this cup hallowed with ſolemn benediction availeth to the

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endleſs life and welfare both of ſoul and body; in that it ſerveth as well for a medicine to heal our infirmities and purge our ſins, as for a ſacrifice of thankſgiving; with touching it ſanctifieth, it enlighteneth with belief, it truly conformeth us unto the image of Jeſus Chriſt. What theſe elements are in themſelves, it ſkilleth not; it is enough, that to me which take them they are the body and blood of Chriſt; his promiſe in witneſs hereof ſufficeth; his word he knoweth which way to accompliſh; why ſhould any cogitation poſſeſs the mind of a faithful communicant but this, O my God, thou art true; O my ſoul, thou art happy! Thus therefore we ſee, that howſoever men's opinions do otherwiſe vary; nevertheleſs, touching Baptiſm and the Supper of our Lord, we may with one conſent of the whole Chriſtian world conclude they are neceſſary, the one to initiate or begin, the other to conſummate or make perfect our life in Chriſt.

Of faults noted in the form of adminiſtering the holy Sacrament.

68. In adminiſtering the Sacrament of the body and blood of Chriſt, the ſuppoſed faults of the Church of England are not greatly material, and therefore it ſhall ſuffice to touch them in few words. *The firſt is, that we do not uſe in a generality once for all to ſay to communicants,* Take, eat, and drink; *but unto every particular perſon,* Eat thou, drink thou, *which is according to the Popiſh manner, and not the form that our Saviour did uſe. Our ſecond overſight is, by geſture; for in kneeling there hath been ſuperſtition: ſitting agreeth better to the action of a ſupper; and our Saviour, uſing that which was moſt fit, did himſelf not kneel. A third accuſation is, for not examining all communicants, whoſe knowledge in the myſtery of the Goſpel ſhould that way be made manifeſt; a thing every where, they ſay, uſed in the Apoſtles' times, becauſe all things neceſſary were uſed; and this in their opinion is neceſſary, yea it is commanded, inaſmuch as the Levites* 2 Chron. xxx. 6. *were commanded to prepare the people for the Paſſover; and examination is a part of their preparation, our Lord's Supper being in place of the Paſſover. The fourth thing*

thing miſliked is, that againſt the Apoſtle's prohibition, to have any familiarity at all with notorious offenders, Papiſts being not of the Church are admitted to our very communion, before they have by their religious and goſpel-like behaviour purged themſelves of that ſuſpicion of Popery which their former life hath cauſed. They are dogs, ſwine, unclean beaſts, foreigners and ſtrangers from the Church of God; and therefore ought not to be admitted, though they offer themſelves. We are, fifthly, condemned, inaſmuch as when there have been ſtore of people to hear ſermons and ſervice in the Church, we ſuffer the communion to be miniſtered to a few. It is not enough, that our Book of Common Prayer hath godly exhortations to move all thereunto which are preſent. For it ſhould not ſuffer a few to communicate, it ſhould by Eccleſiaſtical diſcipline and civil puniſhment provide that ſuch as would withdraw themſelves might be brought to communicate, according both to the Law of God and the ancient Church-canons. In the ſixth and laſt place, cometh the enormity of imparting this Sacrament privately unto the ſick. Thus far accuſed, we anſwer briefly to the firſt, [a] that ſeeing God by Sacraments doth apply in particular unto every man's perſon the grace which himſelf hath provided for the benefit of all mankind, there is no cauſe why adminiſtering the Sacraments we ſhould forbear to expreſs that in our forms of ſpeech, which he by his Word and Goſpel teacheth all to believe. In the one Sacrament, *I baptize thee*, diſpleaſeth them not. If, *Eat thou*, in the other offend them, their fancies are no

1 Cor. v. 11.

Num. ix. 13. Can. ix. Apoſt. Concil. ii. Brac. cap. 83.

[a] T. C. lib. iii. pag. 166. Beſides that it is good to leave the Popiſh form in thoſe things, which we may ſo conveniently do, it is beſt to come as near the manner of celebration of the Supper which our Saviour Chriſt did uſe, as may be. And if it be a good argument to prove that therefore we muſt rather ſay, *Take thou*, than *Take ye*, becauſe the Sacrament is an application of the benefits of Chriſt, it behoveth that the Minister ſhould direct his admonitions particularly, one after another, unto all thoſe which hear his ſermon, which is a thing abſurd.

BOOK V. rules for Churches to follow. Whether Chriſt at his laſt Supper did ſpeak generally once to all, or to every one in particular, is a thing uncertain. His words are recorded in that form which ſerveth beſt for the ſetting down with hiſtorical brevity what was ſpoken; they are no manifeſt proof that he ſpake but once unto all which did then communicate, much leſs that we in ſpeaking unto every communicant ſeverally do amiſs, although it were clear that we herein do otherwiſe than Chriſt did. Our imitation of him conſiſteth not in tying ſcrupulouſly ourſelves unto his ſyllables, but rather in ſpeaking by the heavenly direction of that inſpired divine wiſdom, which teaches divers ways to one end; and doth therein control their boldneſs, by whom any profitable way is cenſured as reprovable, only under colour of ſome ſmall difference from great examples going before. To do throughout every the like circumſtance the ſame which Chriſt did in this action, were, by following his footſteps in that ſort, to err more from the purpoſe he aimed at, than we now do by not following them with ſo nice and ſevere ſtrictneſs. They little weigh with themſelves how dull, how heavy, and almoſt how without ſenſe, the greateſt part of the common multitude every where is, who think it either unmeet or unneceſſary to put them, even man by man, eſpecially at that time, in mind whereabout they are. It is true, that in ſermons we do not uſe to repeat our ſentences ſeverally to every particular hearer; a ſtrange madneſs it were if we ſhould. The ſoftneſs of wax may induce a wiſe man to ſet his ſtamp or image therein; it perſuadeth no man, that becauſe wool hath the like quality, it may therefore receive the like impreſſion. So the reaſon taken from the uſe of Sacraments, in that they are inſtruments of grace unto every particular man, may with good congruity lead the Church to frame accordingly her words in adminiſtration of Sacraments, becauſe they eaſily admit this

this form; (which being in ſermons a thing impoſſible, without apparent ridiculous abſurdity;) agreement of Sacraments with ſermons, in that which is alleged as a reaſonable proof of conveniency for the one, proveth not the ſame allegation impertinent, becauſe it doth not enforce the other to be adminiſtered in like ſort. For equal principles do then avail unto equal concluſions, when the matter whereunto we apply them is equal, and not elſe. [a] Our kneeling at communions is the geſture of piety. If we did there preſent ourſelves but to make ſome ſhew or dumb reſemblance of a ſpiritual feaſt, it may be that ſitting were the fitter ceremony; but coming as receivers of ineſtimable grace at the hands of God, what doth better beſeem our bodies at that hour, than to be ſenſible witneſſes of minds unfeignedly humbled? Our Lord himſelf did that which cuſtom and long uſage had made fit; we, that which fitneſs and great decency hath made uſual. The trial of ourſelves, before we eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, is, by expreſs commandment, every man's preciſe duty. As for neceſſity of calling others unto account beſides ourſelves, albeit we be not thereunto drawn by any great ſtrength which is in their arguments, who firſt preſs us with it as a thing neceſſary, by affirming that the Apoſtles did uſe it, and then prove the [b] Apoſtles to have uſed it, by affirming it to be neceſſary; again, albeit we greatly muſe how they can avouch that God did command the Levites

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[a] T. C. lib. i. pag. 165. Kneeling carrieth a ſhew of worſhip; ſitting agreeth better with the action of the Supper. Chriſt and his Apoſtles kneeled not.

[b] T. C. lib. i. pag. 164. All things neceſſary were uſed in the Churches of God in the Apoſtles' times; but examination was a neceſſary thing, therefore uſed. In the book of Chronicles, 2 Chron. xxxv. 6. the Levites were commanded to prepare the people to the receiving of the Paſſover, in place whereof we have the Lord's Supper. Now examination being a part of preparation, it followeth that here is commandment of the examination.

BOOK V. to prepare their brethren againſt the feaſt of the Paſſover, and that the examination of them was a part of their preparation, when the place alleged to this purpoſe doth but charge the Levite, ſaying, *Make ready* Laahhechem *for your brethren*, to the end they may do according to the word of the Lord by Moſes: wherefore in the ſelf-ſame place it followeth, how lambs, and kids, and ſheep, and bullocks were delivered unto the Levites, and that thus the ſervice was made ready; it followeth likewiſe, how the Levites having in ſuch ſort provided for the people, they made proviſion for themſelves, *and for the prieſts, the ſons of Aaron*: ſo that confidently from hence to conclude the neceſſity of examination, argueth their wonderful great forwardneſs in framing all things to ſerve their turn; nevertheleſs, the examination of communicants when need requireth, for the profitable uſe it may have in ſuch caſes, we reject not. Our fault in admitting Popiſh communicants, is it in that we are forbidden to eat, and therefore much more to communicate with notorious malefactors? The name of a Papiſt is not given unto any man for being a notorious malefactor: and the crime wherewith we are charged, is ſuffering Papiſts to communicate; ſo that, be their life and converſation whatſoever in the ſight of man, their Popiſh opinions are in this caſe laid as bars and exceptions againſt them; yea, thoſe opinions which they have held in former times, [a] although they now both profeſs by word, and offer to ſhew by fact the contrary. All this doth not juſtify us, which ought not (they ſay) to admit them in any wiſe, till their goſpel-like behaviour have removed all ſuſpicion of Popery from them, becauſe Papiſts are *dogs*,

1 Cor. v. 11.

T. C. lib. i. pag. 167.

[a] Although they would receive the Communion, yet they ought to be kept back, until ſuch time as, by their religious and goſpel-like behaviour, they have purged themſelves of that ſuſpicion of Popery which their former life and converſation hath cauſed to be conceived. T. C. lib. i. pag. 167.

ſwine,

ſwine, beaſts, foreigners and ſtrangers from the Houſe of God; in a word, *they are not of the Church*. What the terms of goſpel-like behaviour may include is obſcure and doubtful; but of the viſible Church of Chriſt in this preſent world, from which they ſeparate all Papiſts, we are thus perſuaded. Church is a word which art hath deviſed, thereby to ſever and diſtinguiſh that ſociety of men, which profeſſeth the true Religion, from the reſt which profeſs it not. There have been in the world, from the very firſt foundation thereof, but three religions, Paganiſm, which lived in the blindneſs of corrupt and depraved nature; Judaiſm, embracing the law which reformed heatheniſh impieties, and taught ſalvation to be looked for through one, whom God in the laſt days would ſend, and exalt to be Lord of all: finally, Chriſtian belief, which yieldeth obedience to the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, and acknowledgeth him the Saviour whom God did promiſe. Seeing then that the Church is a name, which art hath given to profeſſors of true Religion; as they which will define a man, are to paſs by thoſe qualities wherein one man doth excel another, and to take only thoſe eſſential properties whereby a man doth differ from creatures of other kinds, ſo he that will teach what the Church is ſhall never rightly perform the work whereabout he goeth, till in matter of Religion he touch that difference which ſevereth the Church's Religion from theirs who are not the Church. Religion being therefore a matter partly of contemplation, partly of action; we muſt define the Church, which is a religious ſociety, by ſuch differences as do properly explain the eſſence of ſuch things, that is to ſay, by the object or matter whereabout the contemplations and actions of the Church are properly converſant. For ſo all knowledges and all virtues are defined. Whereupon, becauſe the only object, which ſeparateth ours from other religions, is Jeſus Chriſt, in whom none but the Church doth believe;

and

BOOK V. and whom none but the Church doth worſhip; we find that accordingly the Apoſtles do every where diſtinguiſh hereby the Church from Infidels and from Jews, *accounting them which call upon the name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt to be his Church.* If we go lower, we ſhall but add unto this certain caſual and variable accidents, which are not properly of the being, but make only for the happier and better being of the Church of God, either in deed, or in men's opinions and conceits. This is the error of all Popiſh definitions that hitherto have been brought. They define not the Church by that which the Church eſſentially is, but by that wherein they imagine their own more perfect than the reſt are. Touching parts of eminency and perfection, parts likewiſe of imperfection and defect in the Church of God, they are infinite, their degrees and differences no way poſſible to be drawn unto any certain account. There is not the leaſt contention and variance, but it blemiſheth ſomewhat the unity that ought to be in the Church of Chriſt, which notwithſtanding may have not only without offence or breach of concord her manifold varieties in rites and ceremonies of Religion, but alſo her ſtrifes and contentions many times, and that about matters of no ſmall importance; yea, her ſchiſms, factions, and ſuch other evils whereunto the body of the Church is ſubject, ſound and ſick remaining both of the ſame body, as long as both parts retain by outward profeſſion that vital ſubſtance of truth, which maketh Chriſtian Religion to differ from theirs which acknowledge not our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the bleſſed Saviour of mankind, give no credit to his glorious Goſpel, and have his Sacraments, the ſeals of eternal life, in deriſion. Now the privilege of the viſible Church of God (for of that we ſpeak) is to be herein like the ark of Noah, that, for any thing we know to the contrary, all without it are loſt ſheep; yet in this was the ark of Noah privileged above the Church, that whereas none

Rom. xv. 5. 1 Cor. i. 10.

none of them which were in the one could periſh, numbers in the other are caſt away, becauſe to eternal life our profeſſion is not enough. Many things exclude from the kingdom of God, although from the Church they ſeparate not. In the Church there ariſe ſundry grievous ſtorms, by means whereof whole kingdoms and nations profeſſing Chriſt, both have been heretofore, and are at this preſent day divided about Chriſt. During which diviſions and contentions amongſt men, albeit each part do juſtify itſelf, yet the one of neceſſity muſt needs err, if there be any contradiction between them, be it great or little; and what ſide ſoever it be that hath the truth, the ſame we muſt alſo acknowledge alone to hold with the true Church in that point, and conſequently the other as an enemy, in that caſe fallen away from the true Church. Wherefore of hypocrites and diſſemblers, whoſe profeſſion at the firſt was but only from the teeth outward, when they afterwards took occaſion to oppugn certain principal Articles of Faith, the Apoſtles which defended the truth againſt them, pronounce them gone out from the fellowſhip of ſound and ſincere believers, when as yet the Chriſtian Religion they had not utterly caſt off. In like ſenſe and meaning throughout all ages, Heretics have juſtly been hated as branches cut off from the body of the true vine; yet only ſo far forth cut off as their hereſies have extended. Both hereſy, and many other crimes which wholly ſever from God, do ſever from the Church of God in part only. The myſtery of piety, ſaith the Apoſtle, is without peradventure great, *God hath been manifeſted in the flesh, hath been juſtified in the Spirit, hath been ſeen of Angels, hath been preached to nations, hath been believed on in the world, hath been taken up into glory.* The Church is a pillar and foundation of this truth, which no where is known or profeſſed but only within the Church, and they all of the Church that profeſs it. In the mean while, it cannot be denied, that many

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1 John ii. 19.

1 Tim. iii. 16.

BOOK V. many profeſs this who are not therefore cleared ſimply from all, either faults or errors, which make ſeparation between us and the well-ſpring of our happineſs. Idolatry ſevered of old the Iſraelites, iniquity, thoſe Scribes and Phariſees, from God, who notwithſtanding were a part of the ſeed of Abraham, a part of that very ſeed which God did himſelf acknowledge to be his Church. The Church of God may therefore contain both them which indeed are not his, yet muſt be reputed his by us that know not their inward thoughts, and them whoſe apparent wickedneſs teſtifieth even in the ſight of the whole world that God abhorreth them. For to this and no other purpoſe are meant thoſe parables, which our Saviour in the Goſpel hath concerning mixture of vice with virtue, light with darkneſs, truth with error, as well openly known and ſeen, as a cunningly cloaked mixture. That which ſeparateth therefore utterly, that which cutteth off clean from the viſible Church of Chriſt, is plain apoſtaſy, direct denial, utter rejection of the whole Chriſtian Faith, as far as the ſame is profeſſedly different from infidelity. Heretics, as touching thoſe points of doctrine wherein they fail; Schiſmatics, as touching the quarrels for which, or the duties wherein they divide themſelves from their brethren; looſe, licentious, and wicked perſons, as touching their ſeveral offences or crimes, have all forſaken the true Church of God; the Church which is ſound and ſincere in the doctrine that they corrupt; the Church that keepeth the bond of unity, which they violate; the Church that walketh in the laws of righteouſneſs, which they tranſgreſs; this very true Church of Chriſt they have left, howbeit not altogether left, nor forſaken ſimply the Church; upon the main foundations whereof they continue built, notwithſtanding theſe breaches whereby they are rent at the top aſunder. Now becauſe for redreſs of profeſſed errors and open ſchiſms it is, and muſt be the Church's care that all may in outward

Matt. xiii. 24, 47.

outward conformity be one; as the laudable Polity of former ages, even ſo our own to that end and purpoſe hath eſtabliſhed divers Laws, the moderate ſeverity whereof is a mean both to ſtay the reſt, and to reclaim ſuch as heretofore have been led awry. But ſeeing that the offices which Laws require are always definite, and when that they require is done they go no farther, whereupon ſundry ill-affected perſons, to ſave themſelves from danger of Laws, pretend obedience, albeit inwardly they carry ſtill the ſame hearts which they did before; by means whereof it falleth out, that receiving unworthily the bleſſed Sacrament at our hands, they eat and drink their own damnation; it is for remedy of this miſchief[a] here determined, that whom the Law of the BOOK V.

[a] T. C. lib. i. pag. 167. If the place of the fifth to the Corinthians do forbid that we ſhould have any familiarity with notorious offenders, it doth more forbid that they ſhould be received to the Communion: and therefore Papiſts being ſuch, as which are notoriouſly known to hold heretical opinions, ought not to be admitted, much leſs compelled to the Supper. For ſeeing that our Saviour Chriſt did inſtitute his Supper amongſt his Diſciples, and thoſe only which were, as St. Paul ſpeaketh, within; it is evident, that the Papiſts being without, and foreigners and ſtrangers from the Church of God, ought not to be received if they would offer themſelves; and that miniſter that ſhall give the Supper of the Lord to him which is known to be a Papiſt, and which hath never made any clear renouncing of Popery with which he hath been defiled, doth profane the Table of the Lord, and doth give the meat that is prepared for the children unto dogs; and he bringeth into the paſture, which is provided for the ſheep, ſwine, and unclean beaſts, contrary to the faith and truſt that ought to be in a ſteward of the Lord's Houſe, as he is. For albeit, that I doubt not, but many of thoſe which are now Papiſts, pertain to the election of God, which God alſo in his good time will call to the knowledge of his truth; yet, notwithſtanding, they ought to be unto the miniſter, and unto the Church, touching the miniſtering of Sacraments, as ſtrangers, and as unclean beaſts. The miniſtering of the holy Sacraments unto them is a declaration and ſeal of God's favour and reconciliation with them, and a plain preaching, partly, that they be waſhed already from their ſin, partly that they are of the houſehold of God, and ſuch as the Lord will feed to eternal life; which

BOOK V. realm doth puniſh unleſs they communicate, ſuch, if they offer to obey Law, the Church notwithſtanding ſhould not admit without probation before had of their goſpel-like behaviour. Wherein they firſt ſet no time, how long this ſuppoſed probation muſt continue; again, they nominate no certain judgment, the verdict whereof ſhall approve men's behaviour to be goſpel-like; and, that which is moſt material, whereas they ſeek to make it more hard for diſſemblers to be received into the Church than Law and Polity as yet hath done, they make it in truth more eaſy for ſuch kind of perſons to wind themſelves out of the Law, and to continue the ſame they were. The Law requireth at their hands that duty which in conſcience doth touch them neareſt, becauſe the greateſt difference between us and them is the Sacrament of the body and blood of Chriſt, whoſe name in the ſervice of our Communion we celebrate with due honour, which they in the error of their Maſs profane. As therefore on our part to hear Maſs were an open departure from that ſincere profeſſion wherein we ſtand; ſo if they on the other ſide receive our Communion, they give us the ſtrongeſt pledge of fidelity that man can demand. What their hearts are, God doth know. But if they which mind treachery to God and man ſhould once apprehend this advantage given them, whereby they may ſatisfy Law in pretending themſelves conformable, (for what can Law with reaſon or juſtice require more?) and yet be ſure the Church will accept no ſuch offer till their goſpel-like behaviour be allowed,

which is not lawful to be done unto thoſe which are not of the houſehold of faith. And therefore I conolude, that the compelling of Papiſts unto the Communion, and the diſmiſſing and letting of them go, when as they be to be puniſhed for their ſtubborneſs in Popery, (with this condition, if they will receive the Communion,) is very unlawful; when as, although they would receive it, yet they ought to be kept back till ſuch time as by their religious and goſpel-like behaviour, &c.

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after that our own ſimplicity hath once thus fairly eaſed them from the ſting of the Law; it is to be thought they will learn the myſtery of goſpel-like behaviour when leiſure ſerveth them. And ſo while without any cauſe we fear to profane Sacraments, we ſhall not only defeat the purpoſe of moſt wholeſome Laws, but loſe or wilfully hazard thoſe ſoûls, from whom the likelieſt means of full and perfect recovery are by our indiſcretion withheld. For neither doth God thus bind us to dive into men's conſciences, nor can their fraud and deceit hurt any man but themſelves. To him they ſeem ſuch as they are; but of us they muſt be taken for ſuch as they ſeem. In the eye of God they are againſt Chriſt, that are not truly and ſincerely with him; in our eyes, they muſt be received as with Chriſt, that are not to outward ſhew againſt him. The caſe of impenitent and notorious ſinners is not like unto theirs, whoſe only imperfection is error ſevered from pertinacy, error in appearance content to ſubmit itſelf to better inſtruction; error ſo far already cured, as to crave at our hands that Sacrament, the hatred and utter refuſal whereof was the weightieſt point wherein heretofore they ſwerved and went aſtray. In this caſe therefore they cannot reaſonably charge us with remiſs dealing, or with careleſſneſs to whom we impart the myſteries of Chriſt; but they have given us manifeſt occaſion to think it requiſite that we earneſtly adviſe rather, and exhort them to conſider as they ought their ſundry overſights; firſt, in equalling undiſtinctly crimes with errors, as touching force to make uncapable of this Sacrament; ſecondly, in ſuffering indignation at the faults of the Church of Rome to blind and withhold their judgments from ſeeing that which withal they ſhould acknowledge, concerning ſo much, nevertheleſs, ſtill due to the ſame Church, as to be held and reputed a part of the Houſe of God, a limb of the viſible Church of Chriſt; thirdly, in impoſing upon the Church

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BOOK V. Church a burthen, to enter farther into men's hearts, and to make a deeper ſearch of their conſciences, than any Law of God or reaſon of man enforceth; fourthly and laſtly, in repelling under colour of longer trial ſuch from the myſteries of heavenly grace, as are both capable thereof by the Laws of God, for any thing we hear to the contrary, and ſhould in divers conſiderations be cheriſhed according to the merciful examples and precepts whereby the Goſpel of Chriſt hath taught us towards ſuch to ſhew compaſſion, to receive them with lenity and all meekneſs; if any thing be ſhaken in them, to ſtrengthen it; not to quench with delays and jealouſies that feeble ſmoke of conformity which ſeemeth to breathe from them, but to build whereſoever there is any foundation; to add perfection unto ſlender beginnings; and that, as by other offices of piety, even ſo by this very food of life which Chriſt hath left in his Church, not only for preſervation of ſtrength, but alſo for relief of weakneſs.

T. C. l. i. p. 147. But to return to our own ſelves, in whom the next thing ſeverely reproved is the paucity of communicants. If they require at communions frequency, we wiſh the ſame, knowing how acceptable unto

2 Chron. xxx. 13. Pſal. cxxii. 1. God ſuch ſervice is, when multitudes cheerfully concur unto it; if they encourage men thereunto, we alſo (themſelves acknowledge it) are not utterly forgetful to do the like; if they require ſome public coaction for remedy of that, wherein by milder and ſofter means, little good is done, they know our Laws and Statutes provided in that behalf, whereunto whatſoever convenient help may be added more by the wiſdom of man, what cauſe have we given the world to think that we are not ready to hearken to it, and to uſe any good means of ſweet compul-

Luke xiv. 23. ſion to have this high and heavenly banquet largely furniſhed? Only we cannot ſo far yield as to judge it convenient, that the holy deſire of a competent number ſhould be unſatisfied becauſe the greater part

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is careleſs and undiſpoſed to join with them. Men ſhould not (they ſay) be permitted a few by themſelves to communicate when ſo many are gone away, becauſe this Sacrament is a token of our conjunction with our brethren; and therefore by communicating apart from them, we make an apparent ſhew of diſtraction. I aſk then, on which ſide unity is broken, whether on theirs that depart, or on theirs who, being left behind, do communicate? Firſt, in the one it is not denied but that they may have reaſonable cauſes of departure, and that then even they are delivered from juſt blame. Of ſuch kind of cauſes two are allowed, namely, danger of impairing health, and neceſſary buſineſs requiring our preſence otherwhere. And may not a third cauſe, which is unfitneſs at the preſent time, detain us as lawfully back as either of theſe two? True it is, that we cannot hereby altogether excuſe ourſelves, for that we ought to prevent this, and do not. But if we have committed a fault in not preparing our minds before, ſhall we therefore aggravate the ſame with a worſe; the crime of unworthy participation? He that abſtaineth doth want for the time that grace and comfort which religious communicants have; but he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, receiveth death; that which is life to others, turneth in him to poiſon. Notwithſtanding, whatſoever be the cauſe for which men abſtain, were it reaſon that the fault of one part ſhould any way abridge their benefit that are not faulty? There is in all the Scripture of God no one ſyllable which doth condemn communicating amongſt a few, when the reſt are departed from them. As for the laſt thing, which is our imparting this Sacrament privately to the ſick, whereas there have been of old (they grant) two kinds of neceſſity wherein this Sacrament might be privately adminiſtered; of which two, the one being erroneouſly imagined, and the other (they ſay) continuing no longer in uſe, there remaineth unto us no neceſſity at

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T. C. l. i. p. 146.

BOOK V. at all, for which that cuſtom ſhould be retained. The falſely ſurmiſed neceſſity is that whereby ſome have thought all ſuch excluded from poſſibility of ſalvation, as did depart this life, and never were made partakers of the holy Euchariſt. The other caſe of neceſſity was, when men which had fallen in time of perſecution, and had afterwards repented them, but were not as yet received again unto the fellowſhip of this communion, did at the hour of death requeſt it, that ſo they might reſt with greater quietneſs and comfort of mind, being thereby aſſured of departure in unity of Chriſt's Church; which virtuous deſire the Fathers did think it great impiety not to ſatisfy. This was Serapion's caſe of neceſſity. Serapion, a faithful aged perſon, and always of very upright life, till fear of perſecution in the end cauſed him to ſhrink back, after long ſorrow for his ſcandalous offence, and ſuit oftentimes made to be pardoned of the Church, fell at length into grievous ſickneſs, and being ready to yield up the ghoſt, was then more inſtant than ever before to receive the Sacrament. Which Sacrament was neceſſary in this caſe, not that Serapion had been deprived of everlaſting life without it, but that his end was thereby to him made the more comfortable. And do we think, that all caſes of ſuch neceſſity are clean vaniſhed? Suppoſe that ſome have by miſperſuaſion lived in ſchiſm, withdrawn themſelves from holy and public aſſemblies, hated the prayers, and loathed the Sacraments of the Church, falſely preſuming them to be fraught with impious and antichriſtian corruptions; which error the God of mercy and truth opening at the length their eyes to ſee, they do not only repent them of the evil which they have done, but alſo in token thereof deſire to receive comfort by that whereunto they have offered diſgrace, (which may be the caſe of many poor ſeduced ſouls, even at this day;) God forbid we ſhould think that the Church doth ſin, in permitting

permitting the wounds of ſuch to be ſupplied with that oil which this gracious Sacrament doth yield, and their bruiſed minds not only need but beg. There is nothing which the ſoul of man doth deſire in that laſt hour ſo much as comfort againſt the natural terrors of death, and other ſcruples of conſcience which commonly do then moſt trouble and perplex the weak; towards whom the very Law of God doth exact at our hands all the helps that Chriſtian lenity and indulgence can afford. Our general conſolation departing this life is, the hope of that glorious and bleſſed reſurrection which the Apoſtle St. Paul nameth Ἐξανάϛασιν, [a] to note that as all men ſhould have their Ἀνάϛασιν, and be raiſed again from the dead, ſo the juſt ſhall be taken up and exalted above the reſt, whom the power of God doth but raiſe, and not exalt. This life, and this reſurrection of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, is for all men, as touching the ſufficiency of that he hath done; but that which maketh us partakers thereof, is our particular communion with Chriſt; and this Sacrament a principal mean, as well to ſtrengthen the bond, as to multiply in us the fruits of the ſame communion. For which cauſe St. Cyprian [b] termeth it a joyful ſolemnity of expedite and ſpeedy reſurrection; Ignatius, [c] a medicine which procureth immortality and preventeth death; Irenæus [d], the nouriſhment of our bodies to eternal life, and their preſervative from corruption. [e] Now becauſe that Sacrament, which at all times we may

1 Cor. xv. 21. Phil. iii. 11.

[a] Διὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ὕπαρξιν. Theophyl. Πάντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀνίϛανται, μόνοι δὲ πιϛοὶ ἀξιοῦνται τῶν ἀγαθῶν. Ammon. Vide 1 Theſſ. iv. 17.

[b] Maturatæ Reſurrectionis lætabunda ſolemnia. Cypr. de Cœn. Dom. Vide in Oper. Arnoldi.

[c] Φάρμακον ἀθανασίας, ἀντίδοτον μὴ ἀποθανεῖν. Ignat. Epiſt. ad Epheſ.

[d] Iren. lib. iv. cap. 34.

[e] Etſi nihil facile mutandum eſt ex ſolemnibus, tamen ubi æquitas evidens poſcit, ſubveniendum eſt. Lib. cxxxviii. ff. de Reg. Jur.

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receive unto this effect, is then moſt acceptable and moſt fruitful when any ſpecial extraordinary occaſion, nearly and preſently urging, kindleth our deſires towards it, their ſeverity, who cleave unto that alone which is generally fit to be done, and ſo make all men's conditions alike, may add much affliction to divers troubled and grieved minds, of whoſe particular eſtate particular reſpect being had, according to the charitable order of the Church wherein we live, there enſueth unto God that glory which his righteous ſaints comforted in their greateſt diſtreſſes do yield; and unto them which have their reaſonable petitions ſatisfied, the ſame contentment, tranquillity, and joy, that others before them, by means of like ſatisfaction, have reaped, and wherein we all are or ſhould be deſirous finally to take our leave of the world, whenſoever our own uncertain time of moſt aſſured departure ſhall come. Concerning therefore both prayers and ſacraments, together with our uſual and received form of adminiſtering the ſame in the Church of England, let thus much ſuffice.

Of feſtival-days, and the natural cauſes of their convenient inſtitution.

69. As the ſubſtance of God alone is infinite and hath no kind of limitation, ſo likewiſe his continuance is from everlaſting to everlaſting, and knoweth neither beginning nor end. Which demonſtrable concluſion being preſuppoſed, it followeth neceſſarily, that beſides him, all things are finite both in ſubſtance and in continuance. If in ſubſtance all things be finite, it cannot be but that there are bounds without the compaſs whereof their ſubſtance doth not extend; if in continuance alſo limited, they all have, it cannot be denied, their ſet and their certain terms, before which they had no being at all. This is the reaſon why, firſt, we do moſt admire thoſe things which are greateſt; and, ſecondly, thoſe things which are ancienteſt; becauſe the one are leaſt diſtant from the infinite ſubſtance, the other from the infinite continuance of God. Out of this we gather that only God hath true immortality or eternity, that is

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to ſay, continuance wherein there groweth no difference by addition of hereafter unto now, whereas the nobleſt and perfecteſt of all things beſides have continually, through continuance, the time of former continuance lengthened; ſo that they could not heretofore be ſaid to have continued ſo long as now; neither ſo long as hereafter. God's own eternity is the hand which leadeth Angels in the courſe of their perpetuity; their perpetuity the hand that draweth out celeſtial motion; the line of which motion, and the thread of time, are ſpun together. Now as nature bringeth forth time with motion, ſo we by motion have learned how to divide time, and by the ſmaller parts of time both to meaſure the greater, and to know how long all things elſe endure. For time, conſidered in itſelf, is but the flux of that very inſtant wherein the motion of the heaven began, being coupled with other things, it is the quantity of their continuance meaſured by the diſtance of two inſtants; as the time of a man is a man's continuance from the inſtant of his firſt breath till the inſtant of his laſt gaſp. Hereupon ſome have defined time to be the meaſure of the motion of heaven; becauſe the firſt thing which time doth meaſure is that motion wherewith it began, and by the help whereof it meaſureth other things; as when the prophet David ſaith, that a man's continuance doth not commonly exceed threeſcore and ten years, he uſeth the help both of motion and number to meaſure time. They which make time an effect of motion, and motion to be in nature before time, ought to have conſidered with themſelves, that albeit we ſhould deny, as Meliſſus did, all motion, we might notwithſtanding acknowledge time, becauſe time doth but ſignify the quantity of continuance, which continuance may be in things that reſt and are never moved. Beſides, we may alſo conſider in reſt both that which is paſt, and that which is preſent, and that which is future; yea, farther, even length and ſhortneſs in every of theſe, although we never

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BOOK V. never had conceit of motion. But to define, without motion, how long, or how ſhort ſuch continuance is, were impoſſible. So that herein we muſt of neceſſity uſe the benefit of years, days, hours, minutes, which all grow from celeſtial motion. Again, for as much as that motion is circular, whereby we make our diviſions of time, and the compaſs of that circuit ſuch, that the heavens, which are therein continually moved and keep in their motions uniform celerity, muſt needs touch often the ſame points, they cannot chooſe but bring unto us by equal diſtances frequent returns of the ſame times. Furthermore, whereas time is nothing but a mere quantity of that continuance which all things have, that are not, as God is, without beginning, that which is proper unto all quantities agreeth alſo to this kind; ſo that time doth but meaſure other things, and neither worketh in them any real effect, nor is itſelf ever capable of any. And therefore when commonly we uſe to ſay, that time doth eat or fret out all things; that time is the wiſeſt thing in the world, becauſe it bringeth forth all knowledge; and that nothing is more fooliſh than time, which never holdeth any thing long, but whatſoever one day learneth, the ſame another day forgetteth again; that ſome men ſee proſperous and happy days, and that ſome men's days are miſerable; in all theſe and the like ſpeeches, that which is uttered of the time is not verified of time itſelf, but agreeth unto thoſe things which are in time, and do by means of ſo near conjunction either lay their burden upon the back, or ſet their crown upon the head of time. Yea, the very opportunities which we aſcribe to time[a], do in truth cleave to the things themſelves wherewith the time is joined. As for time, it neither cauſeth things, nor opportunities of things, although it compriſe and contain both. All things

[a] Χρόνος ἐστὶν ἐν ᾧ καιρὸς, καὶ καιρὸς ἐν ᾧ χρόνος οὐ πολύς. Hippoc. Lib. qui Præceptiones inſcribitur.

whatſoever

whatſoever having their time, the works of God have always that time which is ſeaſonableſt and fitteſt for them. His works are ſome ordinary, ſome more rare; all worthy of obſervation, but not all of like neceſſity to be often remembered; they all have their times, but they all do not add the ſame eſtimation and glory to the times wherein they are. For as God by being every where, yet doth not give unto all places one and the ſame degree of holineſs; ſo neither one and the ſame dignity to all times by working in all. For if all either places or times were in reſpect of God alike; wherefore was it ſaid unto Moſes by particular deſignation, *That very place wherein thou ſtandeſt is holy ground?* Why doth the prophet David chooſe out of all the days of the year but one, whereof he ſpeaketh by way of principal admiration, *This is the day the Lord hath made?* No doubt, as God's extraordinary preſence hath hallowed and ſanctified certain places, ſo they are his extraordinary works that have truly and worthily advanced certain times; for which cauſe they ought to be with all men that honour God more holy than other days. The Wiſe Man therefore compareth herein not unfitly the times of God with the perſons of men. If any ſhould aſk how it comes to paſs that one day doth excel another, ſeeing the light of all the days in the year proceedeth from one ſun; to this he anſwereth, *That the knowledge of the Lord hath parted them aſunder, he hath by them diſpoſed the times and ſolemn feaſts; ſome he hath choſen out and ſanctified, ſome he hath put among the days to number:* even as Adam and all other men are of one ſubſtance, all created of the earth: *But the Lord hath divided them by great knowledge, and made their ways divers; ſome he hath bleſſed and exalted, ſome he hath ſanctified and appropriated unto himſelf, ſome he hath curſed, humbled, and put them out of their dignity.* So that the cauſe being natural and neceſſary for which there ſhould be a difference in days, the ſolemn obſervation whereof declareth religious

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Exod. iii. 5.

Pſal. cxviii. 24.

Eccluſ. xxxiii. 7—12.

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thankfulneſs towards him, whoſe works of principal reckoning we thereby admire and honour, it cometh next to be conſidered, what kinds of duties and ſervices they are, wherewith ſuch times ſhould be kept holy.

The manner of celebrating feſtival-days.

70. The ſanctification of days and times is a token of that thankfulneſs, and a part of that public honour which we owe to God for admirable benefits, whereof it doth not ſuffice that we keep a ſecret calendar, taking thereby our private occaſions as we liſt ourſelves to think how much God hath done for all men; but the days which are choſen out to ſerve as public memorials of ſuch his mercies ought to be clothed with thoſe outward robes of holineſs, whereby their difference from other days may be made ſenſible. But becauſe time in itſelf, as hath been already proved, can receive no alteration, the hallowing of feſtival-days muſt conſiſt in the ſhape or countenance which we put upon the affairs that are incident into thoſe days. *This is the day which the Lord hath made*, ſaith the prophet David; *let us rejoice and be glad in it.* So that generally offices and duties of [a] religious joy are that wherein the hallowing of feſtival-times conſiſteth. The moſt natural teſtimonies of our rejoicing in God are, firſt, his praiſes ſet forth with cheerful alacrity of mind; ſecondly, our comfort and delight expreſſed by a charitable largeneſs of ſomewhat more than common bounty; thirdly, ſequeſtration from ordinary labours, the

[a] Grande videlicet officium, focos et toros in publicum educere, vicatim epulari, civitatem tabernæ halitu abolefacere, vino lutum cogere, catervatim curſitare ad injurias, ad impudentias, ad libidinis illecebras. Siccine exprimitur publicum gaudium per publicum dedecus? Tert. Apol. cap. 35. p. 28. D. ed. Par. Dies feſtos Majeſtati altiſſimæ dedicatos nullis volumus voluptatibus occupari. Cl. xii. tit. 12. lib. 1. Ἀντὶ τῆς πάλαι πομπείας καὶ αἰσχρουργίας καὶ αἰσχροῤῥημοσύνης σωφρονες ἑορτάζονται πανηγύρεις, οὐ μέθην ἔχουσαι καὶ κῶμον καὶ γέλωτα, ἀλλ' ὕμνους θείους καὶ ἱερῶν λογίων ἀκρόασιν, καὶ προσευχὴν ἀξιεπαίνοις κοσμουμένην δακρύοις. Theod. ad Græc. Infidel. ſer. ix. Τῆς γὰρ αὐτῆς φύσεώς ἐστιν εὐσεβῆτε εἶναι καὶ φιλάνθρωπον. Philo. lib. de Abraham.

toils

toils and cares whereof are not meet to be companions of ſuch gladneſs. Feſtival ſolemnity, therefore, is nothing but the due mixture, as it were, of theſe three elements, praiſe, bounty, and reſt. Touching praiſe, for as much as the Jews, who alone knew the way how to magnify God aright, did commonly (as appeared by their wicked lives) moſe of cuſtom and for faſhion-ſake execute the ſervice of their Religion, than with hearty and true devotion, which God eſpecially requireth; he therefore proteſteth againſt their ſabbaths and ſolemn days, as being therewith much offended. Plentiful and liberal expence is required in them that abound, partly as a ſign of their own joy in the goodneſs of God towards them, and partly as a mean whereby to refreſh thoſe poor and needy, who being eſpecially at theſe times made partakers of relaxation and joy with others, do the more religiouſly bleſs God, whoſe great mercies were a cauſe thereof, and the more contentedly endure the burden of that hard eſtate wherein they continue. Reſt is the end of all motion, and the laſt perfection of all things that labour. Labours in us are journeys, and even in them which feel no wearineſs by any work, yet they are but ways whereby to come unto that, which bringeth not happineſs till it do bring reſt. For as long as any thing which we deſire is unattained, we reſt not. Let us not here take reſt for idleneſs. They are idle, whom the painfulneſs of action cauſeth to avoid thoſe labours whereunto both God and Nature bindeth them; they reſt, which either ceaſe from their work when they have brought it unto perfection, or elſe give over a meaner labour becauſe a worthier and better is to be undertaken. God hath created nothing to be idle or ill employed. As therefore man doth conſiſt of different and diſtinct parts, every part endued with manifold abilities, which all have their ſeveral ends and actions thereunto referred; ſo there is in this great variety of duties which belong to men that dependency and order,

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Iſa. i. 13.

Nehemiah viii. 9.

BOOK V. der, by means whereof, the lower ſuſtaining always the more excellent, and the higher perfecting the more baſe, they are in their times and ſeaſons continued with moſt exquiſite correſpondence. Labours of bodily and daily toil purchaſe freedom for actions of religious joy, which benefit theſe actions requite with the gift of deſired reſt; a thing moſt natural and fit to accompany the ſolemn feſtival duties of honour which are done to God. For if thoſe principal works of God, the memory whereof we uſe to celebrate at ſuch times, be but certain taſtes and ſays, as it were, of that final benefit wherein our perfect felicity and bliſs lieth folded up, ſeeing that the preſence of the one doth direct our cogitations, thoughts, and deſires towards the other, it giveth ſurely a kind of life, and addeth inwardly no ſmall delight to thoſe ſo comfortable expectations, when the very outward countenance of that we preſently do, repreſenteth after a ſort that alſo whereunto we tend; as feſtival reſt doth that celeſtial eſtate whereof the very Heathens themſelves [a], which had not the means whereby to apprehend much, did notwithſtanding imagine that it needs muſt conſiſt in reſt, and have therefore taught that above the higheſt moveable ſphere there is nothing which feeleth alteration, motion, or change, but all things immutable, unſubject to paſſion, bleſt with eternal continuance in a life of the higheſt perfection, and of that complete abundant ſufficiency within itſelf, which no poſſibility of want, maim, or defect can touch. Beſides, whereas ordinary labours are both in themſelves painful and baſe in compariſon of feſtival ſervices done to God, doth not the natural difference between them ſhew that the one, as it were by way of ſubmiſſion and homage, ſhould ſurrender them-

[a] Οὐδ' ἔστιν οὐδενὸς οὐδεμία μεταβολὴ τῶν ὑπὲρ ἐσχάτου φερομένην φορὰν ἀλλ' ἀναλλοίωτα καὶ ἀπαθῆ τὴν ἀρίστην ἐχόντα ζωὴν καὶ τὴν αὐταρκεστάτην διατελεῖ τὸν ἅπαντα αἰῶνα. Ariſt.

ſelves

ſelves to the other, wherewith they can neither eaſily concur, becauſe painfulneſs and joy are oppoſite, nor decently, becauſe while the mind hath juſt occaſion to make her abode in the houſe of gladneſs, the weed of ordinary toil and travel becometh her not? Wherefore even Nature hath taught the Heathens, and God the Jews, and Chriſt us, firſt that feſtival ſolemnities are a part of the public exerciſe of Religion; ſecondly, that praiſe, liberality, and reſt, are as natural elements whereof ſolemnities conſiſt. But theſe things the Heathens converted to the honour of their falſe gods; and, as they failed in the end itſelf, ſo neither could they diſcern rightly what form and meaſure Religion therein ſhould obſerve. Whereupon when the Iſraelites impiouſly followed ſo corrupt example, they are in every degree noted to have done amiſs; their hymns or ſongs of praiſe were idolatry; their bounty, exceſs; and their reſt, wantonneſs. Therefore the Law of God, which appointed them days of ſolemnity, taught them likewiſe in what manner the ſame ſhould be celebrated. According to the pattern of which inſtitution, David eſtabliſhing the ſtate of Religion ordained praiſe to be given unto God in the ſabbaths, months, and appointed times, as their cuſtom had been always before the Lord. Now, beſides the times which God himſelf in the Law of Moſes particularly ſpecified, there were through the wiſdom of the Church certain other deviſed by occaſion of like occurrents to thoſe whereupon the former had riſen; as namely, that which Mordecai and Eſther did firſt celebrate in memory of the Lord's moſt wonderful protection, when Haman had laid his inevitable plot, to man's thinking, for the utter extirpation of the Jews even in one day. This they call the Feaſt of Lots, becauſe Haman had caſt their life and their death, as it were, upon the hazard of a lot. To this may be added that other alſo of Dedication, mentioned in the tenth of St. John's Goſpel, the inſtitution whereof is declared

1 Chron. xxiii. 31.

Eſther ix. 27.

John x. 22.

in

BOOK V. in the Hiſtory of the Maccabees. But for as much as their Law by the coming of Chriſt is changed, and we thereunto no way bound, St. Paul, although it were not his purpoſe to favour invectives againſt the ſpecial ſanctification of days and times to the ſervice of God, and to the honour of Jeſus Chriſt, doth notwithſtanding bend his forces againſt that opinion which impoſed on the Gentiles the yoke of Jewiſh legal obſervations, as if the whole world ought, for ever, and that upon pain of condemnation, to keep and obſerve the ſame. Such as in this perſuaſion hallowed thoſe Jewiſh ſabbaths the Apoſtle ſharply reproveth, ſaying, *Ye obſerve days, and months, and times, and years; I am in fear of you, leſt I have beſtowed upon you labour in vain.* Howbeit, ſo far off was Tertullian from imagining how any man could poſſibly hereupon call in queſtion ſuch days as the Church of Chriſt doth obſerve[a], that the obſervation of theſe days he uſeth for an argument whereby to prove, it could not be the Apoſtle's intent and meaning to condemn ſimply all obſerving of ſuch times. Generally therefore touching feaſts in the Church of Chriſt, they have that profitable uſe whereof St. Auguſtine ſpeaketh, *By feſtival ſolemnities and ſet days we dedicate and ſanctify to God the memory of his benefits, leſt unthankful forgetfulneſs thereof ſhould creep upon us in courſe of time.* And concerning particulars, their ſabbath the Church hath changed into our Lord's day; that as the one did continually bring to mind the former world finiſhed by creation, ſo the other might keep us in perpetual remembrance of a far better world, begun by him which came to reſtore all things, to make both heaven and earth new. For which cauſe they honoured the laſt day, we the

1 Mac. iv. 54.

Gal. iv. 10, 11.

Aug. de Civit. Dei, lib. x. cap. 3. tom. vii. p. 240. ed. Par.

[a] Si omnem in totum devotionem temporum et dierum et menſium et annorum erafit Apoſtolus, cur Paſcha celebramus annuo circulo in menſe primo? Cur quinquaginta exinde diebus in omni exultatione decurrimus? Lib. adverſ. Pſych.

firſt

firſt in every ſeven throughout the year. The reſt of the days and times which we celebrate have relation all to one Head. We begin therefore our Eccleſiaſtical year with the glorious Annunciation of his *Birth by angelical embaſſage. There* being hereunto added his bleſſed Nativity itſelf; the myſtery of his legal Circumciſion; the teſtification of his true Incarnation by the Purification of her which brought him into the world, his Reſurrection, his Aſcenſion into heaven, the admirable ſending down of his Spirit upon his choſen, and (which conſequently enſued) the notice of that incomprehenſible Trinity thereby given to the Church of God. Again, for as much as we know that Chriſt hath not only been manifeſted great in himſelf, but great in other his ſaints alſo, the days of whoſe departure out of the world are to the Church of Chriſt as the birth and coronation days of kings or emperors; therefore eſpecial choice being made of the very flower of all occaſions in this kind, there are annual ſelected times to meditate of Chriſt glorified in them, which had the honour to ſuffer for his ſake, before they had age and ability to know him; glorified in them, which knowing him as Stephen, had the ſight of that before death, whereinto ſo acceptable death did lead; glorified in thoſe ſages of the Eaſt, that came from far to adore him, and were conducted by ſtrange light; glorified in the ſecond Elias of the world, ſent before him to prepare his way; glorified in thoſe Apoſtles, whom it pleaſed him to uſe as founders of his kingdom here; glorified in the Angels, as in Michael; glorified in all thoſe happy ſouls, that are already poſſeſſed of heaven. Over and beſides which number not great, the reſt be but four other days heretofore annexed to the feaſt of Eaſter and Pentecoſt, by reaſon of general Baptiſm uſual at thoſe two feaſts; which alſo is the cauſe why they had not, as other days, any proper name given them. Their firſt inſtitution was therefore through neceſſity, and their

BOOK V.

Luke i. 26.

Luke ii. 21.

BOOK V. their preſent continuance is now for the greater honour of the principals whereupon they ſtill attend. If it be then demanded, whether we obſerve theſe times as being thereunto bound by force of divine Law, or elſe by the only poſitive ordinances of the Church? I anſwer to this, that the very Law of Nature itſelf, which all men confeſs to be God's Law, requireth in general no leſs the ſanctification of times, than of places, perſons, and things, unto God's honour. For which cauſe it hath pleaſed him heretofore, as of the reſt, ſo of times likewiſe, to exact ſome parts by way of perpetual homage, never to be diſpenſed withal, nor remitted; again, to require ſome other parts of time with as ſtrict exaction, but for leſs continuance; and of the reſt which were left arbitrary, to accept what the Church ſhall in due conſideration conſecrate voluntarily unto like religious uſes. Of the firſt kind, amongſt the Jews, was the ſabbath-day; of the ſecond, thoſe feaſts which are appointed by the Law of Moſes; the feaſt of Dedication, invented by the Church, ſtandeth in the number of the laſt kind. The moral Law requiring therefore a ſeventh part throughout the age of the whole world to be that way employed; although with us the day be changed, in regard of a new revolution begun by our Saviour Chriſt, yet the ſame proportion of time continueth which was before, becauſe in reference to the benefit of creation, and now much more of renovation thereunto added by him which was Prince of the world to come, we are bound to account the ſanctification of one day in ſeven a duty which God's immutable Law doth exact for ever. The reſt, they ſay, we ought to aboliſh, becauſe the continuance of them doth nouriſh wicked ſuperſtition in the minds of men; beſides, they are all abuſed by Papiſts, the enemies of God, yea, certain of them, as Eaſter and Pentecoſt, even by the Jews.

71. Touch-

71. Touching Jews, their Eaſter and Pentecoſt have with ours as much affinity as Philip the Apoſtle with Philip the Macedonian King. As for imitation of Papiſts and the breeding of ſuperſtition, they are now become ſuch common gueſts, that no man can think it diſcourteous to let them go as they came. The next is a rare obſervation and ſtrange [a]; you ſhall find, if you mark it, (as it doth deſerve to be noted well,) that many thouſands there are, who if they have virtuouſly during thoſe times behaved themſelves, if their devotion and zeal in prayer have been fervent, their attention to the Word of God ſuch as all Chriſtian men ſhould yield, imagine that herein they have performed a good duty; which notwithſtanding to think is a very dangerous error, in as much as the Apoſtle Saint Paul hath taught that we ought not to keep our Eaſter as the Jews did for certain days, but in the unleavened bread of ſincerity and of truth to feaſt continually: whereas

Exceptions againſt our keeping of other feſtival-days, beſides the ſabbath.

[a] T. C. lib. vi. pag. 151. If they had been never abuſed neither by the Papiſts, nor by the Jews, as they have been, and are daily; yet ſuch making of holidays is never without ſome great danger of bringing in ſome evil and corrupt opinions into the minds of men. I will uſe an example in one, and that the chief of holidays, and moſt generally and of longeſt time obſerved in the Church, which is the feaſt of Eaſter, which was kept of ſome more days, of ſome fewer. How many thouſands are there, I will not ſay of the ignorant Papiſts, but of thoſe alſo which profeſs the Goſpel, which when they have celebrated thoſe days with diligent heed taken unto their life, and with ſome earneſt devotion in praying, and hearing the Word of God, do not by and by think that they have well celebrated the feaſt of Eaſter; and yet have they thus notably deceived themſelves; for Saint Paul teacheth, 1 Cor. v. 8. that the celebrating of the feaſt of the Chriſtians' Eaſter is not, as the Jews was, for certain days; but ſheweth that we muſt keep this feaſt all the days of our life in the unleavened bread of ſincerity and of truth. By which we ſee, that the obſerving of the feaſt of Eaſter for certain days in the year doth pull out of our minds, ere ever we be aware, the doctrine of the Goſpel, and cauſeth us to reſt in that near conſideration of our duties, for the ſpace of a few days, which ſhould be extended to all our life.

the

BOOK V. the reſtraint of Eaſter to a certain number of days, cauſeth us to reſt for a ſhort ſpace in that near conſideration of our duties, which ſhould be extended throughout the courſe of our whole lives, and ſo pulleth out of our minds the doctrine of Chriſt's Goſpel ere we be aware. The doctrine of the Goſpel, which here they mean, or ſhould mean, is, that, Chriſt having finiſhed the Law, there is no Jewiſh Paſchal ſolemnity, nor abſtinence from ſour bread now required at our hands; there is no leaven which we are bound to caſt out, but malice, ſin, and wickedneſs; no bread but the food of ſincere truth, wherewith we are tied to celebrate our Paſſover. And ſeeing no time of ſin is granted us, neither any intermiſſion of ſound belief, it followeth, that this kind of faſting ought to endure always. But how are ſtanding feſtival ſolemnities againſt this? That which the Goſpel of Chriſt requireth is the perpetuity of virtuous duties; not perpetuity of exerciſe or action, but diſpoſition perpetual, and practice as oft as times and opportunities require. Juſt, valiant, liberal, temperate, and holy men are they, which can whenſoever they will, and will whenſoever they ought, execute what their ſeveral perfections import. If virtues did always ceaſe to be when they ceaſe to work, there ſhould be nothing more pernicious to virtue than ſleep; neither were it poſſible that men, as Zachary and Elizabeth, ſhould in all the commandments of God walk unreprovable; or that the chain of our converſation ſhould contain ſo many links of divine virtues, as the Apoſtles in divers places have reckoned up, if in the exerciſe of each virtue perpetual continuance were exacted at our hands. Seeing therefore all things are done in time, and many offices are not poſſible at one and the ſame time to be diſcharged; duties of all ſorts muſt have neceſſarily their ſeveral ſucceſſions and ſeaſons, in which reſpect the Schoolmen have well and ſoundly determined, that God's affirmative Laws and Precepts, the Laws that enjoin any

any actual duty, as prayer, alms, and the like, do bind us *ad ſemper velle*, but not *ad ſemper agere*; we are tied to iterate and reſume them when need is, howbeit not to continue them without any intermiſſion. Feaſts, whether God himſelf hath ordained them, or the Church by that authority which God hath given, they are of Religion ſuch public ſervices as neither can nor ought to be continued otherwiſe than only by iteration. Which iteration is a moſt effectual mean to bring unto full maturity and growth thoſe ſeeds of godlineſs, that theſe very men themſelves do grant to be ſown in the hearts of many thouſands, during the while that ſuch feaſts are preſent. The conſtant habit of well doing is not gotten without the cuſtom of doing well, neither can virtue be made perfect but by the manifold works of virtue often practiſed. Before the powers of our minds be brought unto ſome perfection, our firſt eſſays and offers towards virtue muſt needs be raw; yet commendable, becauſe they tend unto ripeneſs. For which cauſe, the wiſdom of God hath commanded, eſpecially this circumſtance amongſt others in ſolemn feaſts, that to children and novices in Religion they miniſter the firſt occaſion to aſk and enquire of God. Whereupon, if there follow but ſo much piety as hath been mentioned, let the Church learn to further imbecility with prayer; *Preſerve, Lord, theſe good and gracious beginnings, that they ſuddenly dry not up like the morning dew, but may proſper and grow as the trees, which rivers of waters keep always flouriſhing.* Let all men's acclamations be, *Grace, grace unto it*, as to that firſt laid corner-ſtone in Zerubbabel's buildings. For who hath deſpiſed the day of thoſe things which are ſmall? Or, how dare we take upon us to condemn that very thing which voluntarily we grant maketh us of nothing ſomewhat; ſeeing all we pretend againſt it, is only, that as yet this ſomewhat is not much? The days of ſolemnity which are but few cannot chooſe but ſoon finiſh that

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BOOK V. outward exerciſe of godlineſs which properly appertaineth to ſuch times; howbeit, men's inward diſpoſition to virtue they both augment for the preſent, and, by their often returns, bring alſo the ſame at the length unto that perfection which we moſt deſire. So that although by their neceſſary ſhort continuance they abridge the preſent exerciſe of piety in ſome kind, yet becauſe by repetition they enlarge, ſtrengthen and confirm the habits of all virtue, it remaineth, that we honour, obſerve, and keep them as ordinances many ways ſingularly profitable in God's Church. This exception being taken againſt holidays, for that they reſtrain the praiſes of God unto certain times, another followeth condemning reſtraint of men from their ordinary trades and labours at thoſe times. [a] It is not (they ſay) in the power of the

[a] T. C. lib. i. pag. 152. I confeſs, that it is in the power of the Church to appoint ſo many days in the week, or in the year, (in the which, the congregation ſhall aſſemble to hear the Word of God, and receive the Sacraments, and offer up prayers unto God,) as it ſhall think good, according to thoſe rules which are before alleged. But that it hath power to make ſo many holidays as we have, wherein men are commanded to ceaſe from their daily vocations of plowing and exerciſing their handicrafts, that I deny to be in the power of the Church. For proof whereof I will take the fourth commandment, and no other interpretation of it than Mr. Doctor alloweth of, which is, that God licenſeth and leaveth it at the liberty of every man to work ſix days in the week, ſo that he reſt the ſeventh day. Seeing, therefore, that the Lord hath left it to all men at liberty, that they might labour, if they think good, ſix days; I ſay, the Church, nor no man can take this liberty away from them, and drive them to a neceſſary reſt of the body. And if it be lawful to abridge the liberty of the Church in this point; and inſtead, that the Lord ſaith, ſix days thou mayeſt labour, if thou wilt, to ſay, thou ſhalt not labour ſix days; I do not ſee, why the Church may not as well, whereas the Lord ſaith, *Thou ſhalt reſt the ſeventh day*, command that thou ſhalt not reſt the ſeventh day. For if the Church may reſtrain the liberty which God hath given them, it may take away the yoke alſo which God hath put upon them. And whereas you ſay, that notwithſtanding this fourth commandment, the Jews had certain other feaſts which they obſerved; indeed the Lord, which gave this general Law, might make as many exceptions

Church to command reſt, becauſe God hath left it to all men at liberty, that if they think good to beſtow ſix whole days in labour, they may; neither is it more lawful for the Church to abridge any man of that liberty which God hath granted, than to take away the yoke which God hath laid upon them, and to countermand what he doth expreſsly enjoin. They deny not, but in times of public calamity, that men may the better aſſemble themſelves to faſt and pray, the Church, becauſe it hath received commandment from God to proclaim a prohibition from ordinary works, ſtandeth bound to do it, as the Jews afflicted did in Babylon. But without ſome expreſs commandment from God there is no power, they ſay, under heaven, which may preſume by any degree to reſtrain the liberty that God hath given. Which opinion, albeit applied here no farther than to this preſent cauſe, ſhaketh univerſally the fabric of government, tendeth to anarchy and mere confuſion, diſſolveth families, diſſipateth colleges, corporations, armies, overthroweth kingdoms, churches,

as he thought good, and ſo long as he thought good. But it followeth not, becauſe the Lord did it, that therefore the Church may do it, unleſs it hath commandment and authority from God ſo to do. As when there is any general plague or judgment of God either upon the Church, or coming towards it, the Lord commandeth in ſuch a caſe, Joel ii. 15. that they ſhould ſanctify a general faſt, and proclaim *Gbnatſarab*, which ſignifieth a prohibition, or forbidding of ordinary works; and is the ſame Hebrew word wherewith thoſe faſt-days are noted in the Law, wherein they ſhould reſt. The reaſon of which commandment of the Lord was, that as they abſtained that day as much as might be conveniently from meats, ſo they might abſtain from their daily works, to the end they might beſtow the whole day in hearing the Word of God, and humbling themſelves in the congregation, confeſſing their faults, and deſiring the Lord to turn away from his fierce wrath. In this caſe the Church having commandment to make a holiday, may, and ought to do it, as the Church which was in Babylon did during the time of their captivity; but where it is deſtitute of a commandment, it may not preſume by any decree to reſtrain that liberty which the Lord hath given.

BOOK V. and whatſoever is now through the providence of God by authority and power upheld. For whereas God hath foreprized things of the greateſt weight, and hath therein preciſely defined, as well that which every man muſt perform, as that which no man may attempt, leaving all ſorts of men in the reſt, either to be guided by their own good diſcretion if they be free from ſubjection to others, or elſe to be ordered by ſuch commandments and laws as proceed from thoſe ſuperiors under whom they live; the patrons of liberty have here made ſolemn proclamation that all ſuch laws and commandments are void, inaſmuch as every man is left to the freedom of his own mind in ſuch things as are not either exacted or prohibited by the Law of God. And becauſe, only in theſe things, the poſitive precepts of men have place; which precepts cannot poſſibly be given without ſome abridgment of their liberty to whom they are given; therefore if the father command the ſon, or the huſband the wife, or the lord the ſervant, or the leader the ſoldier, or the prince the ſubject, to go or ſtand, ſleep or wake, at ſuch times as God himſelf in particular commandeth neither; they are to ſtand in defence of the freedom which God hath granted, and to do as themſelves liſt, knowing that men may as lawfully command them things utterly forbidden by the Law of God, as tie them to any thing which the Law of God leaveth free. The plain contradictory whereunto is infallibly certain. Thoſe things which the Law of God leaveth arbitrary and at liberty, are all ſubject to the poſitive laws of men; which laws, for the common benefit, abridge particular men's liberty in ſuch things as far as the rules of equity will ſuffer. This we muſt either maintain, or elſe overturn the world, and make every man his own commander. Seeing then that labour and reſt upon any one day of the ſix throughout the year, are granted free by the Law of God, how exempt we

them

them from the force and power of Eccleſiaſtical Law, except we deprive the world of power to make any Ordinance or Law at all? Beſides, is it probable that God ſhould not only allow, but command concurrency of reſt with extraordinary occaſions of doleful events befalling, peradvênture, ſome one certain Church, or not extending unto many, and not as much as permit or licence the like, when piety, triumphant with joy and gladneſs, maketh ſolemn commemoration of God's moſt rare and unwonted mercies, ſuch eſpecially as the whole race of mankind doth or might participate? Of vacation from labour in times of ſorrow the only cauſe is, for that the general public prayers of the whole Church, and our own private buſineſs, cannot both be followed at once; whereas of reſt in the famous ſolemnities of public joy, there is both this conſideration the ſame, and alſo farther a kind of natural repugnancy, which maketh labours (as hath been proved) much more unfit to accompany feſtival praiſes of God, than offices of humiliation and grief. Again, if we ſift what they bring for proof and approbation of reſt with faſting, doth it not in all reſpects as fully warrant and as ſtrictly command reſt, whenſoever the Church hath equal reaſon by feaſts and gladſome ſolemnities to teſtify public thankfulneſs towards God? I would know ſome cauſe why thoſe words of the prophet Joel, *Sanctify a faſt, call a ſolemn aſſembly*, which words were uttered to the Jews in miſery and great diſtreſs, ſhould more bind the Church to do at all times after the like in their like perplexities, than the words of Moſes to the ſame people in a time of joyful deliverance from miſery, *Remember this day*, may warrant any annual celebration of benefits no leſs importing the good of men; and alſo juſtify, as touching the manner and form thereof, what circumſtance ſoever we imitate only in reſpect of natural fitneſs or decency, without any Jewiſh regard to

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Joel ii. 15.

Exod. xiii. 3.

BOOK V. ceremonies, ſuch as were properly theirs, and are not by us expedient to be continued. According to the rule of which general directions taken from the Law of God, no leſs in the one than the other, the practice of the Church commended unto us in holy Scripture, doth not only make for the juſtification of black and diſmal days, (as one of the Fathers termeth them,) but plainly offereth itſelf to be followed by ſuch ordinances (if occaſion require) as that which Mordecai did ſometimes deviſe, Eſther what lay in her power help forward, and the reſt of the Jews eſtabliſh for perpetuity; namely, that the fourteenth and fifteenth days of the month Adar ſhould be every year kept throughout all generations, as days of feaſting and joy, wherein they would reſt from bodily labour, and what by gifts of charity beſtowed upon the poor, what by other liberal ſigns of amity and love, all teſtify their thankful minds towards God, which almoſt beyond poſſibility had delivered them all, when they all were as men dead. But this decree, they ſay, was divine not eccleſiaſtical[a], as

Eſth. ix.

[a] T. C. l. iii. p. 193. The example out of Eſther is no ſufficient warrant for theſe feaſts in queſtion. For firſt, as in other caſes, ſo in this caſe of days, the eſtate of Chriſtians under the Goſpel ought not to be ſo ceremonious as was theirs under the Law. Secondly, that which was done there was done by a ſpecial direction of the Spirit of God, either through the miniſtry of the prophets which they had, or by ſome other extraordinary means, which is not to be followed by us. This may appear by another place, Zach. viii. where the Jews changed their faſts into feaſts, only by the mouth of the Lord, through the miniſtry of the Prophet. For further proof whereof, firſt, I take the 28th verſe of Eſth. ix. where it appeareth, that this was an order to endure always, even as long as the other feaſt-days which were inſtituted by the Lord himſelf. So that what abuſes ſoever were of that feaſt, yet as a perpetual decree of God it ought to have remained; whereas our Churches can make no ſuch decree, which may not upon change of times, and other circumſtances, be altered. For the other proof hereof I take the laſt verſe: for the Prophet contenteth not himſelf with that, that he had rehearſed the decree, as he doth ſometimes the decree of profane kings, but addeth preciſely, that as ſoon as ever the decree was made, it

may appear in that there is another decree in another book of Scripture, which decree is plain not to have proceeded from the Church's authority, but from the mouth of the Prophet only; and as a poor ſimple man ſometime was fully perſuaded that if Pontius Pilate had not been a Saint, the Apoſtles would never have ſuffered his name to ſtand in the Creed; ſo theſe men have a ſtrong opinion, that becauſe the book of Eſther is canonical, the decree of Eſther cannot be poſſibly eccleſiaſtical. If it were, they aſk how the Jews could bind themſelves always to keep it, ſeeing Eccleſiaſtical Laws are mutable? As though the purpoſes of men might never intend conſtancy in that, the nature whereof is ſubject to alteration. Doth the Scripture itſelf make mention of any divine commandment? Is the Scripture witneſs of more, than only that Mordecai was the author of this cuſtom, that by letters written to his brethren the Jews throughout all provinces under Darius the king of Perſia, he gave them charge to celebrate yearly thoſe two days, for perpetual remembrance of God's miraculous deliverance and mercy; that the Jews hereupon undertook to do it, and made it with general conſent an order for perpetuity; that Eſther, ſecondly, by her letters confirmed the ſame which Mordecai had before decreed; and that, finally, the ordinance was written to remain for ever upon record? Did not the Jews in provinces abroad obſerve at the firſt the fourteenth day, the Jews in Suſis the fifteenth? Were they not all reduced to an uniform order by means of thoſe two decrees, and ſo every where three days

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it was regiſtered in this book of Eſther, which is one of the books of canonical Scripture, declaring thereby in what eſteem they had it. If it had been of no further authority than our decrees, or than a canon of one of the Councils, it had been preſumption to have brought it into the Library of the Holy Ghoſt. The ſum of my anſwer is, that this decree was divine, and not eccleſiaſtical only.

BOOK V. kept; the firſt with faſting, in memory of danger; the reſt, in token of deliverance, as feſtival and joyful days? Was not the firſt of theſe three afterwards, the day of ſorrow and heavineſs, abrogated, when the ſame Church ſaw it meet that a better day, a day in memory of like deliverance out of the bloody hands of Nicanor, ſhould ſucceed in the room thereof? But foraſmuch as there is no end of anſwering fruitleſs oppoſitions, let it ſuffice men of ſober minds to know, that the Law both of God and Nature alloweth generally days of reſt and feſtival ſolemnity, to be obſerved by way of thankful and joyful remembrance, if ſuch miraculous favours be ſhewed towards mankind as require the ſame; that ſuch graces God hath beſtowed upon his Church, as well in latter as in former times; that in ſome particulars, when they have fallen out, himſelf hath demanded his own honour, and in the reſt hath left it to the wiſdom of the Church, directed by thoſe precedents, and enlightened by other means, always to judge when the like is requiſite. About queſtions therefore, concerning days and times, our manner is not to ſtand at bay with the Church of God, demanding wherefore the memory of [a] Paul ſhould be rather kept than the memory of [b] Daniel; we are content to imagine, it may be perhaps true, that the leaſt in the kingdom of Chriſt is greater than the greateſt of all the Prophets of God that have gone before; we never yet ſaw cauſe to deſpair, but that the [c] ſimpleſt of the people might be taught the

2 Mac. xv. 36.

1 Mac. iv. 55.

[a] Commemoratio Apoſtolica Paſſionis, totius Chriſtianitatis magiſtra, a cunctis jure celebratur. Cod. lib. iii. tit. 12. l. 7.

[b] T. C. lib. i. pag. 153. For ſo much as the old people did never keep any feaſt or holiday for remembrance, either of Moſes, &c.

[c] T. C. lib. i. pag. 153. The people, when it is called St. Paul's day, or the bleſſed Virgin Mary's day, can underſtand nothing thereby, but that they are inſtituted to the honour of St. Paul, or the Virgin Mary, unleſs they be otherwiſe taught. And if you ſay, let them ſo be taught, I have anſwered, that the teaching

right conſtruction of as great myſteries as the [a] name of a Saint's day doth comprehend, although the times of the year go on in their wonted courſe; we had rather glorify and bleſs God for the fruit we daily behold reaped by ſuch ordinances, as his gracious Spirit maketh the ripe wiſdom of this national Church to bring forth, than vainly boaſt of our own peculiar and private inventions, as if the ſkill of [b] profitable regiment had left her public habitation to dwell in retired manner with ſome few men of one livery; we make not our childiſh appeals, ſometimes from our own to foreign Churches, ſometimes from both unto Churches ancienter than both are, in effect always from all others to our own ſelves; but, as becometh them that follow with all humility the ways of peace, we honour, reverence, and obey, in the very next degree unto God, the voice of the Church of God wherein we live. They, whoſe wits are too glorious to fall to ſo low an ebb, they which have riſen and ſwoln ſo high that the walls of ordinary rivers are unable to keep them in, they whoſe wanton contentions in the cauſe whereof we have ſpoken, do make all where they go a ſea, even they, at their higheſt float, are conſtrained both to ſee and [c] grant, that what their fancy will not yield to like, their judgment cannot with reaſon condemn. BOOK V. T. C. l. i. p. 154.

teaching in this land cannot, by any order which is yet taken, come to the moſt part of thoſe which have drunk this poiſon, &c.

[a] Scilicet ignorant nos nec Chriſtum unquam relinquere, qui pro totius ſervandorum mundi ſalute paſſus eſt, nec alium quempiam colere poſſe. Nam hunc quidem tanquam Filium Dei adoramus, Martyres vero tanquam Diſcipulos et Imitatores Domini digne propter inſuperabilem in Regem ipſorum ac Præceptorem benevolentiam diligimus, quorum et nos conſortes et diſcipulos fieri optamus. Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. iv. cap. 15.

[b] T. C. lib. i. pag. 153. As for all the commodities, &c.

[c] T. C. lib. i. pag. 154. We condemn not the Church of England, neither in this, nor in other things, which are meet to be reformed. For it is one thing to miſlike, another thing to condemn; and it is one thing to condemn ſomething in the Church, and another thing to condemn the Church for it.

Such

BOOK V. Such is evermore the final victory of all truth, that they which had not the hearts to love her, acknowledge that to hate her they have no cauſe. Touching thoſe feſtival days therefore which we now obſerve, their number being no way felt [a] diſcommodious to the commonwealth, and their grounds ſuch as hitherto hath been ſhewed; what remaineth, but to keep them throughout all generations holy, ſevered by manifeſt notes of difference from other times, adorned with that which moſt may betoken true, virtuous, and celeſtial joy? To which intent, becauſe ſurceaſe from labour is neceſſary, yet not ſo neceſſary, no not on the Sabbath or ſeventh day itſelf, but that rarer occaſions in men's particular affairs, ſubject to manifeſt detriment unleſs they be preſently followed, may with very good conſcience draw them ſometimes aſide from the ordinary rule, conſidering the favourable diſpenſation which our Lord and Saviour groundeth on this axiom, *Man was not made for the Sabbath, but the Sabbath ordained for man*, ſo far forth as concerneth ceremonies annexed to the principal ſanctification thereof, howſoever the rigour of the Law of Moſes may be thought to import the contrary; if we regard with what ſeverity the violation of Sabbaths hath been ſometime puniſhed, a thing perhaps the more requiſite at that inſtant, both becauſe the Jews, by reaſon of their long abode in a place of continual ſervile toil, could not ſuddenly be weaned and drawn unto contrary offices without ſome ſtrong impreſſion of terror; and alſo for that there is nothing more needful, than to puniſh with extremity the firſt tranſgreſſions of thoſe Laws that require a more exact obſervation for many ages to come; therefore as the Jews, ſuperſtitiouſly addicted to their Sabbaths' reſt for a long time, not

Mark ii. 27. Numb. xv. 32—36.

[a] Πολλὰς μὲν θυσίας, πολλὰς δὲ καὶ ἱερομηνίας ἔπαυσε· τό τε γὰρ πλεῖστον τῦ ἔτους εἰς αὐτὰς ἀνηλίσκετο καὶ τῷ δημοσίῳ ζημία ἐκ ἐλαχίστη ἐγίγνετο. De Claudio dictum apud Dionyſ. lib. lx.

without

without danger to themſelves and [a] obloquy to their very Law, did afterwards perceive and amend wiſely their former error, not doubting that bodily labours are made by neceſſity venial, though otherwiſe, eſpecially on that day, reſt be more convenient; ſo at all times, the voluntary ſcandalous contempt of that reſt from labour, wherewith publicly God is ſerved, we cannot too ſeverely correct and bridle. The Emperor Conſtantine having with over-great facility licenſed Sunday's labour in country villages, under that pretence, whereof there may juſtly no doubt ſometime conſideration be had, namely, leſt any thing which God by his providence hath beſtowed ſhould miſcarry not being taken in due time; Leo, which afterwards ſaw that this ground would not bear ſo general and large indulgence as had been granted, doth by a contrary edict both reverſe and ſeverely cenſure his predeceſſor's remiſſneſs, ſaying, *We ordain, according to the true meaning of the Holy Ghoſt and of the Apoſtles thereby directed, that on the ſacred day, wherein our own integrity was reſtored, all do reſt and ſurceaſe labour; that neither huſbandman, nor other, on that day put their hands to forbidden works. For if the Jews did ſo much reverence their Sabbath, which was but a ſhadow of ours, are not we, which inhabit the light and truth of grace, bound to honour that day which the Lord himſelf hath honoured, and hath therein delivered us both from diſhonour and from death? Are we not bound to keep it ſingular and inviolable, well contenting ourſelves with ſo liberal a grant of the reſt, and not encroaching upon that one day which God hath*

1 Mac. ii. 40, 41.

Neh. xiii. 15.

Cod. lib. iii. tit. 12. l. 3.

Leo Conſtit. liv.

[a] Ii vacare conſueti ſunt ſeptima die, et neque arma portare in prædictis diebus, neque terræ culturam contingere, neque alterius cujuſpiam curam habere patiuntur, ſed in templis extendentes manus adorare uſque ad veſperam ſoliti ſunt. Ingrediente vero in civitatem Ptolemæo Lago cum exercitu et multis hominibus, cum cuſtodire debuerint civitatem, ipſis ſtultitiam obſervantibus, provincia quidem dominum ſuſcepit amariſſimum, Lex vero manifeſtata eſt malam habere ſolennitatem. Agatharchid. apud Joſeph. lib. i. contra Appion. p. 1050. Oper. ed. Genev. Vide et Dionyſ. lib. xxxvii.

choſen

BOOK V.

choſen to his own honour? Were it not reckleſs neglect of Religion to make that very day common, and to think we may do with it as with the reſt? Imperial laws which had ſuch care of hallowing, eſpecially our Lord's day, did not omit to provide that other feſtival times might be kept with vacation from labour, whether they were days appointed on the ſudden, as extraordinary occaſions fell out, or days which were celebrated yearly for politic and civil conſiderations; or, finally, ſuch days as Chriſtian Religion hath ordained in God's Church. The joy that ſetteth aſide labour, diſperſeth thoſe things which labour gathereth. For gladneſs doth always riſe from a kind of fruition and happineſs, which happineſs baniſheth the cogitation of all want, it needeth nothing but only the beſtowing of that it hath, in as much as the greateſt felicity that felicity hath, is to ſpread and enlarge itſelf. It cometh hereby to paſs, that the firſt effect of joyfulneſs is to reſt, becauſe it ſeeketh no more; the next, becauſe it aboundeth, to give. The root of both is the glorious preſence of that joy of mind, which ariſeth from the manifold conſiderations of God's unſpeakable mercy, into which conſiderations we are led by occaſion of ſacred times. For, how could the Jewiſh congregations of old be put in mind by their weekly ſabbaths what the world reaped through his goodneſs, which did of nothing create the world; by their yearly Paſſover, what farewell they took of the land of Egypt; by their Pentecoſt, what Ordinances, Laws, and Statutes their fathers received at the hands of God; by their feaſt of Tabernacles, with what protection they journeyed from place to place, through ſo many fears and hazards, during the tedious time of forty years' travel in the wilderneſs; by their annual ſolemnity of Lots, how near the whole ſeed of Iſrael was unto utter extirpation, when it pleaſeth that great God, which guideth all things in heaven and earth, ſo to change the counſels and purpoſes of men, that the ſame hand which had ſigned a decree, in the opinion both

T. C. lib. iii. tit. 12. Dies feſtos.

both of them that granted and of them that procured it irrevocable, for the general maſſacre of man, woman and child, became the buckler of their preſervation, that no one hair of their heads might be touched; the ſame days which had been ſet for the pouring out of ſo much innocent blood, were made the days of their execution whoſe malice had contrived the plot thereof; and the ſelf-ſame perſons that ſhould have endured whatſoever violence and rage could offer, were employed in the juſt revenge of cruelty, to give unto blood-thirſty men the taſte of their own cup; or how can the Church of Chriſt now endure to be ſo much called on, and preached unto, by that which every Dominical day throughout the year, that which year by year ſo many feſtival times, [a] if not commanded by the Apoſtles themſelves, whoſe care at that time was of greater things, yet inſtituted either by ſuch [b] univerſal authority as no man, or at the leaſt ſuch as we with no reaſon may deſpiſe, doth, as ſometime the holy Angels did from heaven, ſing, *Glory be unto God on high, peace on earth, towards men good will*, (for this in effect is the very ſong that all Chriſtian feaſts do apply as their ſeveral occaſions require;) how ſhould the days and times continually thus inculcate what God hath done, and we refuſe to agnize the benefit of ſuch remembrances; that very benefit which cauſed Moſes to acknowledge thoſe guides of day and night, the ſun and moon, which enlighten the world, not more profitable to nature by giving all things life, than they are to the Church of God by occaſion of the uſe they have in regard of

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Matth. xxviii. 1. Mark xvi. 1. Luke xxiv. 1. John xx. 1. 1 Cor. xvi. 2. Apoc. i. 10. Luke ii. 14.

[a] Apoſtolis propoſitum fuit, non ut leges de feſtis diebus celebrandis ſanciren; ſed ut recte vivendi rationis et pietatis nobis authores eſſent. Socra. Hiſt. lib. v. cap. 21.

[b] Quæ toto terrarum orbe ſervantur, vel ab ipſis Apoſtolis vel conciliis generalibus quorum eſt ſaluberrima in Eccleſia authoritas, ſtatuta eſſe intelligere licet; ſicuti quod Domini Paſſio et Reſurrectio, et in cœlum Aſcenſus, et Adventus Spiritus Sancti, anniverſaria ſolennitate celebrarentur. Auguſt. Epiſt. cxviii.

the

BOOK V. the appointed feſtival times? That which the head of all philoſophers hath ſaid of women, *If they be good, the half of the commonwealth is happy wherein they are*; the ſame we may fitly apply to times; well to celebrate theſe religious and ſacred days, is to ſpend the flower of our time happily. They are the ſplendor and outward dignity of our religion, forcible witneſſes of ancient truth, provocations to the exerciſes of all piety, ſhadows of our endleſs felicity in heaven, on earth everlaſting records and memorials; wherein they which cannot be drawn to hearken unto that we teach, may only, by looking upon that we do, in a manner read whatſoever we believe.

Of days appointed as well for ordinary, as for extraordinary faſts in the Church of God.

72. The matching of contrary things together is a kind of illuſtration to both. Having therefore ſpoken thus much of feſtival days, the next that offer themſelves to hand are days of penſive humiliation and ſorrow. Faſtings are either of men's own free and voluntary accord, as their particular devotion doth move them thereunto; or elſe they are publicly enjoined in the Church, and required at the hands of all men. [a] There are which altogether diſallow not

[a] T. C. lib. i. pag. 30. I will not enter now to diſcuſs, whether it were well done to faſt in all places according to the cuſtom of the place. You oppoſe Ambroſe and Auguſtine; I could oppoſe Ignatius and Tertullian; whereof the one ſaith, It is *nefas*, a deteſtable thing to faſt upon the Lord's day; the other, that it is to kill the Lord. Tertul. de Coron. Mil. Ignatius, Epiſt. ad Philippen. And although Ambroſe and Auguſtine, being private men at Rome, would have ſo done; yet it followeth not, that, if they had been citizens and miniſters there, they would have done it. And if they had done ſo, yet it followeth not, but that they would have ſpoken againſt that appointment of days, and νομοθεσιαν of faſting, whereof Euſebius ſaith, that Montanus was the firſt author. I ſpeak of that which they ought to have done. For otherwiſe I know, they both thought corruptly of faſting; when as the one ſaith, it was a remedy or reward to faſt other days, but in Lent not to faſt was ſin; and the other aſketh, what ſalvation we can obtain, if we blot not out our ſins by faſting, ſeeing that the Scripture ſaith, That faſting and alms doth deliver from ſin; and therefore calleth them new teachers, that ſhut out the merit of faſting. Auguſt. de Temp. lxii. Serm. Ambr. lib. x. Epiſt.

the

the former kind; and the latter they greatly commend, ſo that it be upon extraordinary occaſions only, and after one certain manner exerciſed. But yearly or weekly faſts, ſuch as ours in the Church of England, they allow no farther than as the temporal ſtate of the land doth require the ſame, for the maintenance of ſea-faring men and preſervation of cattle; becauſe the decay of the one, and the waſte of the other, could not well be prevented but by a politic order appointing ſome ſuch uſual change of diet as ours is. We are therefore the rather to make it manifeſt in all men's eyes, that ſet-times of faſting, appointed in ſpiritual conſiderations to be kept by all ſorts of men, took not their beginning either from Montanus, or any other, whoſe hereſies may prejudice the credit and due eſtimation thereof, but have their ground in the Law of Nature, are allowable in God's ſight, were in all ages heretofore, and may till the world's end be obſerved not without ſingular uſe and benefit. Much hurt hath grown to the Church of God through a falſe imagination that faſting ſtandeth men in no ſtead for any ſpiritual reſpect, but only to take down the frankneſs of nature, and to tame the wildneſs of fleſh. Whereupon the world being bold to ſurfeit, doth now bluſh to faſt, ſuppoſing that men, when they faſt, do rather bewray a diſeaſe than exerciſe a virtue. I much wonder what they who are thus perſuaded do think, what conceit they have concerning the faſts of the Patriarchs, the Prophets, the Apoſtles, our Lord Jeſus Chriſt himſelf. The affections of joy and grief are ſo knit unto all the actions of man's life, that whatſoever we can do, or may be done unto us, the ſequel thereof is continually the one or the other affection. Wherefore conſidering that they which grieve and joy as they ought, cannot poſſibly otherwiſe live than as they ſhould, the Church of Chriſt, the moſt abſolute and perfect ſchool of all virtue, hath, by the ſpecial direction of God's good Spirit, hitherto always inured men from their infancy, partly with days of

feſtival

BOOK V. festival exercise for the framing of the one affection, and partly with times of a contrary sort for the perfecting of the other. Howbeit, over and besides this, we must note, that as resting, so fasting likewise attendeth sometimes no less upon the actions of the higher, than upon the affections of the lower part of the mind. Fasting, saith Tertullian, is a work of reverence towards God. The end thereof, sometimes elevation of mind; sometime the purpose thereof clean contrary. The cause why Moses in the Mount did so long fast was mere divine speculation; the cause why David, [a] humiliation. Our life is [b] a mixture of good with evil. When we are partakers of good things, we joy; neither can we but grieve at the contrary. If that befall us which maketh glad, our festival solemnities declare our rejoicing to be in him, whose mere undeserved mercy is the author of all happiness; if any thing be either imminent or present which we shun, our watchings, fastings, cries, and tears, are unfeigned testimonies that ourselves we condemn as the only causes of our own misery, and do all acknowledge him no less inclinable than able to save. And because as the memory of the one, though past, reneweth gladness, so the other, called again to mind, doth make the wound of our just remorse to bleed anew; which wound needeth often touching the more, for that we are generally more apt to calendar Saints' than sinners' days; therefore there is in the Church a care not to iterate the one alone, but to have frequent repetition of the other. Never to seek after God saving only when either the crib or the whip doth constrain, were brutish servility, and a great

[a] Tertul. de jejun. Neque enim cibi tempus in periculo: semper inedia mœroris sequela est.

[b] Μηδεὶς δ' ὑπολαβέτω τὴν ἄκρατον καὶ ἀμιγῆ λυπῆς χαρὰν ἀπ' ὀρεινῆ καταβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, ἀλλ' ἐγκίρνανται ἐξ ἀμφοῖν· ἃ γὰρ εἴασιν ὁ πατὴρ τὸ ἀνθρώπων γένος λυπαῖς καὶ ὀδύναις καὶ ἄχθεσιν ἀνιάτοις ἐμφέρεσθαι, παρέμιξε δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀμείνονος φύσεως, ἐνδιάσας ποτὲ καὶ γαληνιάσαι τὴν ψυχὴν δικαιώσας. Philo. l. de Abraham.

derogation

derogation to the worth of that which is moſt predominant in man, if ſometime it had not a kind of voluntary acceſs to God, and of conference, as it were, with God, all theſe inferior conſiderations laid aſide. In which ſequeſtration, for as much as higher cogitations do naturally drown and bury all inferior cares, the mind may as well forget natural both food and ſleep, by being carried above itſelf with ſerious and heavenly meditation, as by being caſt down with heavineſs, drowned and ſwallowed up of ſorrow. Albeit therefore, concerning Jewiſh abſtinence from certain kinds of meats as being unclean, the Apoſtle doth teach, that *the kingdom of Heaven is not meat nor drink*, that *food commendeth us not unto God*, whether we take it, or abſtain from it; that if we eat, we are not thereby the more acceptable in his ſight; nor the leſs, if we eat not; his purpoſe notwithſtanding was far from any intent to derogate from that faſting, which is no ſuch ſcrupulous abſtinence as only refuſeth ſome kinds of meats and drinks, leſt they make them unclean that taſte them; but an abſtinence whereby we either interrupt, or otherwiſe abridge the care of our bodily ſuſtenance, to ſhew by this kind of outward exerciſe the ſerious intention of our minds fixed on heavenlier and better deſires, the earneſt hunger and thirſt whereof depriveth the body of thoſe uſual contentments, which otherwiſe are not denied unto it. Theſe being in nature the firſt cauſes that induce faſting, the next thing which followeth to be conſidered, is the ancient practice thereof amongſt the Jews. Touching whoſe private voluntary faſts the precept which our Saviour gave them was, *When ye faſt, look not ſour, as hypocrites: for they diſfigure their faces, that they might ſeem to men to faſt. Verily I ſay unto you, they have their reward. When thou faſteſt, anoint thy head, and waſh thy face, that thou ſeem not unto men to faſt, but unto thy Father which is in ſecret; and thy Father, which ſeeth in ſecret, will reward thee openly.* Our Lord and Saviour would not teach the

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John iv. 34.

Rom. xiv. 17.

Matth. vi. 16—18.

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manner of doing, much leſs propoſe a reward for doing that which were not both holy and acceptable in God's ſight. The Phariſees weekly bound themſelves unto double faſts, neither are they for this reproved. Often faſting, which was a virtue in John's Diſciples, could not in them of itſelf be a vice; and therefore not the oftenneſs of their faſting, but their hypocriſy therein was blamed. Of public enjoined faſts, upon cauſes extraordinary, the examples in Scripture are ſo far frequent, that they need no particular rehearſal. Public extraordinary faſtings were ſometimes for one only day, ſometimes for three, ſometimes for ſeven. Touching faſts not appointed for any ſuch extraordinary cauſes, but either yearly, or monthly, or weekly obſerved and kept; firſt, upon the [a] ninth day of that month, the tenth whereof was the feaſt of expiation, they were commanded of God that every ſoul, year by year, ſhould afflict itſelf. Their yearly faſts every fourth month, in regard of the city of Jeruſalem entered by the enemy; every fifth, for the memory of the overthrow of their temple; every ſeventh, for the treacherous deſtruction and death of Gedaliah, the very laſt ſtay which they had to lean unto in their greateſt miſery; every tenth, in remembrance of the time when ſiege began firſt to be laid againſt them; all theſe not commanded by God himſelf, but ordained by a public conſtitution of their own, the prophet Zachary expreſsly toucheth. That St. Jerom, following the tradition of the Hebrews, doth make the firſt a memorial of the breaking of thoſe two Tables, when Moſes deſcended from Mount Sinai; the ſecond, a memorial as well of God's indignation, condemning them to forty years travel in the

2 Chron. xx. Jerem. xxxvi. 6. Ezra viii. 21. 1 Sam. vii. Judg. xx. 26. 2 Mac. xiii. 12. 1 Sam. xxxi. 13. 1 Chron. x. 12. Levit. xxiii. 27—32. Levit. xvi. 29. Zach. viii. 19. Exod. xxxii. 19. Numb. xiv.

[a] Philo de hujus feſti jejunio ita loquitur: Οὐ σιτίον οὐ ποτὸν ἕξεις προσενέγκασθαι, καθαραῖς ὅπως διανοίαις μηδενὸς ἐνοχλοῦντος μηδὲ ἐμποδίζοντος σωματικῶν πάθους ὁποῖα φιλεῖ συμβαίνειν ἐκ πλησμονῆς, ἑορτάζωσιν ἱλασκόμενοι τὸν Πατέρα τῶν ὅλων ὁσίαις εὐχαῖς, δι' ὧν ἀμνηστίαν μὲν παλαιῶν ἁμαρτημάτων, κτῆσιν δὲ καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν εἰσὶν ἀγαθῶν εἰώθασιν αἰτεῖσθαι. Pag. 447.

deſert,

deſert, as of his wrath, in permitting Chaldeans to waſte, burn, and deſtroy their city; the laſt a memorial of heavy tidings, brought out of Jewry to Ezekiel and the reſt, which lived as captives in foreign parts; the difference is not of any moment, conſidering that each time of ſorrow is naturally evermore a regiſter of all ſuch grievous events as have happened either in, or near about the ſame time. To theſe I might add ſundry other faſts, above twenty in number, ordained amongſt them by like occaſions, and obſerved in like manner, beſides their weekly abſtinence, Mondays and Thurſdays, throughout the whole year. When men faſted, it was not always after one and the ſame ſort; but either by depriving themſelves wholly of all food, during the time that their faſts continued; or by abating both the quantity and kind of diet. We have of the one a plain example in the Ninevites' faſting, and as plain a precedent for the other in the prophet Daniel; *I was* (ſaith he) *in heavineſs for three weeks of days; I ate no pleaſant bread, neither taſted fleſh nor wine.* Their tables, when they gave themſelves to faſting, had not that uſual furniture of ſuch diſhes as do cheriſh blood with blood; but [a] for food, they had bread; for ſuppage, ſalt; and for ſauce, herbs. Whereunto the Apoſtle may be thought to allude, ſaying, *One believeth he may eat all things, another which is weak* (and maketh a conſcience of keeping thoſe cuſtoms which the Jews obſerve) *eateth herbs.* This auſtere repaſt they took in the evening after abſtinence the whole day: for to forfeit a noon's meal, and then to recompenſe themſelves at night, was not their uſe; nor did they ever accuſtom themſelves on Sabbaths, or Feſtival days, to faſt. And yet it may be a queſtion, whether in ſome ſort they did not always faſt the Sabbath. Their

Vide Riber. lib. v. cap. 21.

Dan. x. 2, 3.

Rom. xiv. 2. Hieron. lib. ii. contr. Jovinian. Judith viii. 6. R. Moſ. in Miſne. Tora. lib. iii. Qui eſt de tempor. cap. de Sab. & cap. de Jejun.

[a] Puram et ſine animalibus cœnam. Apul. in Aſclep. in fine. Paſtum et potum pura noſſe, non ventris ſcilicet ſed animæ cauſa. Tertul. de Pœnit. Vide Phil. lib. de Vita contempl.

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faſtings were partly in token of penitency, humiliation, grief, and ſorrow, partly in ſign of devotion and reverence towards God. Which ſecond conſideration (I dare not peremptorily and boldly affirm any thing) might induce to abſtain till noon, as their manner was on faſting days to do till night. May it not very well be thought, that hereunto the ſacred Scripture doth give ſome ſecret kind of teſtimony? Joſephus is plain, [a] that the ſixth hour (the day they divided into twelve) was wont on the Sabbath always to call them home unto meat. Neither is it improbable, but that the [b] Heathens did therefore ſo often upbraid them with faſting on that day. Beſides, they which found ſo great fault with our Lord's Diſciples, for rubbing a few ears of corn in their hands on the Sabbath-day, are not unlikely to have aimed alſo at the ſame mark. For neither was the bodily pain ſo great, that it ſhould offend them in that reſpect, and the very manner of defence which our Saviour there uſeth, is more direct and literal to juſtify the breach of the Jewiſh cuſtom in faſting, than in working at that time. Finally, the Apoſtles afterwards themſelves, when God firſt gave them the gift of tongues, whereas ſome in diſdain and ſpite termed grace, drunkenneſs, it being then the day of Pentecoſt, and but only a fourth part of the day ſpent, they uſe this as an argument againſt the other cavil, *Theſe men*, ſaith Peter, *are not drunk as you ſuppoſe, ſince as yet the third hour of the day is not over-paſt*. Howbeit, leaving this in ſuſpenſe as a thing not altogether certainly known, and to come from Jews to Chriſtians, we find that of private voluntary faſtings the Apoſtle St. Paul ſpeaketh more than once. And (ſaith Tertullian) they are ſometime

Nehem. viii. 3, 12.

Acts ii. 15.

1 Cor. vii. 5. 2 Cor. vi. 5. and xi. 27. Col. iv. 3.

[a] Hora ſexta quæ Sabbatis noſtris ad prandium vocare ſolet, ſupervenit. Joſeph. lib. de Vita ſua.

[b] Sabbata Judæorum a Moſe in omne ævum jejunio dicata. Juſtin. lib. xxxvi. Ne Judæus quidem, mi Tiberi, tam libenter Sabbati jejunium ſervat, quam ego hodie ſervavi. Sueton. in Octav. c. lxxvi.

commanded

commanded throughout the Church, *Ex aliqua ſollicitudinis Eccleſiaſticæ cauſa*, the care and fear of the Church ſo requiring. It doth not appear, that the Apoſtles ordained any ſet and certain days to be generally kept of all. Notwithſtanding, for as much as Chriſt hath fore-ſignified, that when himſelf ſhould be taken from them, his abſence would ſoon make them apt to faſt, it ſeemeth, that even as the firſt feſtival-day appointed to be kept of the Church was the day of our Lord's return from the dead, ſo the firſt ſorrowful and mournful day was that which we now obſerve in memory of his departure out of this world. And becauſe there could be no abatement of grief till they ſaw him raiſed, whoſe death was the occaſion of their heavineſs; therefore the day he lay in the ſepulchre hath been alſo kept and obſerved as a weeping day. The cuſtom of faſting theſe two days before Eaſter is undoubtedly moſt ancient; in ſo much, that Ignatius not thinking him a Catholic Chriſtian man which did not abhor, and (as the ſtate of the Church was then) avoid faſting on the Jews' Sabbath, doth notwithſtanding except for ever that one Sabbath or Saturday which falleth out to be the Eaſter-eve, as with us it always doth, and did ſometimes alſo with them, which kept at that time their Eaſter the fourteenth day of March, as the cuſtom of the Jews was. It came afterwards to be an order, that even as the day of Chriſt's reſurrection, ſo the other two, in memory of his death and burial, were weekly. But this, when St. Ambroſe lived, had not as yet taken place throughout all Churches, no not in Milan, where himſelf was Biſhop. And for that cauſe, he ſaith, that although at Rome he obſerved the Saturday's faſt, becauſe ſuch was then the cuſtom in Rome, nevertheleſs in his own Church at home he did otherwiſe. The Churches which did not obſerve that day had another inſtead thereof, which was the Wedneſday, for that when they judged it meet to have weekly a day of humiliation, beſides that whereon our

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Ignat. Epiſt. ad Philip.

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they the name of a minister in this case unto the state of a private man? Doth their order exempt them from obedience to laws? That which their office and place requireth, is to shew themselves patterns of reverent subjection, not authors and masters of contempt towards ordinances; the strength whereof when they seek to weaken, they do but in truth discover to the world their own imbecilities, which a great deal wiselier they might conceal. But the practice of the Church of Christ we shall by so much the better both understand and love, if to that which hitherto hath been spoken, there be somewhat added for more particular declaration, how Heretics have partly abused fasts, and partly bent themselves against the lawful use thereof in the Church of God. Whereas therefore Ignatius hath said, [a] if any keep Sundays or Saturdays' fasts, (one only Saturday in the year excepted,) that man is no better than a murderer of Christ; the cause of such his earnestness at that time, was the impiety of certain Heretics, which thought that this world being corruptible could not be made but by a very evil author. And therefore as the Jews did, by the festival solemnity of their Sabbath, rejoice in the God that created the world as in the Author of all goodness; so those Heretics, in hatred of the Maker of the world, sorrowed, wept, and fasted on that day as being the birth-day of all evil. And as Christian men of sound belief did solemnize the Sunday in joyful memory of Christ's resurrection, so likewise at the self-same time such Heretics as denied his resurrection did the contrary to them which held it; when the one sort rejoiced, the other fasted. Against those Heretics which have urged perpetual abstinence from certain meats, as being in their very nature unclean, the Church hath still bent herself as an enemy; St. Paul giving charge to take heed of them, which,

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Vide Iren. lib. i. cap. 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25. Epiph. Hæres. 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 27, 28, & 41, 42. Vide Canon. Apost. 55.

[a] Εἴ τις κυριακὴν ἢ σάββατον νηστεύει πλὴν ἑνὸς σαββάτου, οὗτος χριστοκτόνος ἐστί. Epist. ad Philip.

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bound to keep, were delivered at the firſt, and that no new thing is to be added thereunto. Stand if you can upon this point; for behold, I challenge you for faſting more than at Eaſter yourſelves. But in fine ye anſwer, that theſe things are to be done as eſtabliſhed by the voluntary appointment of men, and not by virtue or force of any divine commandment. Well then (he addeth) *ye have removed your firſt footing, and gone beyond that which was delivered, by doing more than was at the firſt impoſed upon you. You ſay, you muſt do that which your own judgments have allowed: we require your obedience to that which God himſelf doth inſtitute. Is it not ſtrange, that men to their own will ſhould yield that, which to God's commandment they will not grant? Shall the pleaſure of men prevail more with you, than the power of God himſelf?* Tertul. de Jejun. cap. xiii. p. 551. ed. Par.

Theſe places of Tertullian for faſting have worthily been put to ſilence; and as worthily Aërius condemned for oppoſition againſt faſting. The one endeavoured to bring in ſuch faſts as the Church ought not to receive; the other, to overthrow ſuch as already it had received and did obſerve: the one was plauſible unto many, by ſeeming to hate carnal looſeneſs and riotous exceſs, much more than the reſt of the world did; the other drew hearers, by pretending the maintainance of Chriſtian liberty: the one thought his cauſe very ſtrongly upheld by making invective declamation s with a pale and withered countenance againſt the Church, by filling the ears of his ſtarved hearers with ſpeech ſuitable to ſuch men's humours, and by telling them, no doubt, to their marvellous contentment and liking, *Our new prophecies are refuſed, they are deſpiſed. Is it becauſe Montanus doth preach ſome other God, or diſſolve the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, or overthrow any canon of faith and hope? No, our crime is, we teach that men ought to faſt more often than marry; the beſt feaſt-maker is with them the perfecteſt ſaint, they are aſſuredly mere ſpirit; and therefore theſe our corporal devotions pleaſe them not:* thus the one for Montanus and his ſuperſtition. The other in a Idem, cap. ii.

clean

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clean contrary tune againſt the Religion of the Church; *theſe ſet faſts away with them, for they are Jewiſh, and bring men under the yoke of ſervitude; if I will faſt, let me chooſe my time, that Chriſtian liberty be not abridged.* Hereupon their glory was to faſt eſpecially upon the Sunday, becauſe the order of the Church was on that day not to faſt. *On Church faſting-days, and eſpecially the week before Eaſter, when with us* (ſaith Epiphanius) *cuſtom admitteth nothing but lying down upon the earth, abſtinence from fleſhly delights and pleaſures, ſorrowfulneſs, dry and unſavoury diet, prayer, watching, faſting, all the medicines which holy affections can miniſter, they are up betimes to take in of the ſtrongeſt for the belly, and when their veins are well ſwoln, they make themſelves mirth with laughter at this our ſervice, wherein we are perſuaded we pleaſe God.* By this of Epiphanius it doth appear, not only what faſtings the Church of Chriſt in thoſe times uſed, but alſo what other parts of diſcipline were together therewith in force, according to the ancient uſe and cuſtom of bringing all men at certain times to a due conſideration and an open humiliation of themſelves. Two kinds there were of public penitency; the one belonging to notorious offenders, whoſe open wickedneſs had been ſcandalous; the other appertaining to the whole Church, and unto every ſeveral perſon whom the ſame containeth. It will be anſwered, that touching this latter kind, it may be exerciſed well enough by men in private. No doubt, but penitency is as prayer, a thing acceptable unto God, be it in public or in ſecret. Howbeit, as in the one, if men were only left to their own voluntary meditations in their cloſets, and not drawn by laws and orders unto the open aſſemblies of the Church that there they may join with others in prayer, it may be ſoon conjectured what Chriſtian devotion that way would come unto in a ſhort time; even ſo in the other, we are by ſufficient experience taught, how little it booteth to tell men of waſhing away their ſins

Epiph. Hæreſ. lxxvi. cap. iii. lib. iii. tom. i. Oper. p. 908. ed. Colon.

ſins with tears of repentance, and ſo to leave them altogether unto themſelves. O Lord, what heaps of grievous tranſgreſſions have we committed, the beſt, the perfecteſt, the moſt righteous amongſt us all; and yet clean paſs them over unſorrowed for, and unrepented of, only becauſe the Church hath forgotten utterly how to beſtow her wonted times of diſcipline, wherein the public example of all was unto every particular perſon a moſt effectual mean to put them often in mind, and even in a manner to draw them to that which now we all quite and clean forget, as if penitency were no part of a Chriſtian man's duty. Again, beſides our private offences which ought not thus looſely to be overſlipped; ſuppoſe we the body and corporation of the Church ſo juſt, that at no time it needeth to ſhew itſelf openly caſt down, in regard of thoſe faults and tranſgreſſions, which though they do not properly belong unto any one, had notwithſtanding a ſpecial ſacrifice appointed for them in the Law of Moſes; and being common to the whole ſociety which containeth all, muſt needs ſo far concern every man in particular, as at ſome time in ſolemn manner to require acknowledgment with more than daily and ordinary teſtifications of grief. There could not hereunto a fitter preamble be deviſed, than that memorable Commination ſet down in the book of Common Prayer, if our practice in the reſt were ſuitable. The head already ſo well drawn doth but wiſh a proportionable body. And by the Preface to that very part of the Engliſh Liturgy it may appear, how at the firſt ſetting down thereof no leſs was intended. For ſo we are to interpret the meaning of thoſe words wherein *reſtitution of the primitive Church diſcipline is greatly wiſhed for*, touching the manner of public penance in time of Lent. Wherewith ſome being not much acquainted, but having framed in their minds the conceit of a new diſcipline far unlike to that of old, they make themſelves believe, it is undoubtedly this their diſcipline which at the firſt was ſo much

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deſired.

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Isai. i. 13. lviii. 3.

[a] Con. Laod. c. li. 52. Vetat Natalitia Martyrum in Quadragesima celebrari.

may

may be eaſily in theſe caſes led awry, even through abundance of love and liking to that which muſt be embraced by all means, but with caution, in as much as the very admiration of Saints, whether we celebrate their glory, or follow them in humility; whether we laugh or weep, mourn or rejoice with them, is (as in all things the affection of love) apt to deceive; and doth therefore need the more to be directed by a watchful guide, ſeeing there is manifeſtly both ways, even in them whom we honour, that which we are to obſerve and ſhun. The beſt have not ſtill been ſufficiently mindful, that God's very Angels in heaven are but Angels; and that bodily exerciſe, conſidered in itſelf, is no great matter. Finally, ſeeing that both are ordinances well deviſed for the good of man, and yet not man created purpoſely for them as for other offices of virtue, whereunto God's immutable Law for ever tieth; it is but equity to wiſh or admoniſh that where, by uniform order, they are not as yet received, the example of Victor's extremity in the one, and of John's diſciples' curioſity in the other, be not followed; yea, where they are appointed by Law, that notwithſtanding we avoid Judaiſm: and, as in feſtival-days, men's neceſſities for matter of labour, ſo in times of faſting, regard be had to their imbecilities, leſt they ſhould ſuffer harm, doing good. Thus therefore we ſee how theſe two cuſtoms are in divers reſpects equal. But of faſting the uſe and exerciſe, though leſs pleaſant, is by ſo much more requiſite than the other, as grief of neceſſity is a more familiar gueſt than the contrary paſſion of mind, albeit gladneſs to all men be naturally more welcome. For firſt, we ourſelves do many more things amiſs than well, and the fruit of our own ill-doing is remorſe, becauſe nature is conſcious to itſelf that it ſhould do the contrary. Again, foraſmuch as the world overaboundeth with malice, and few are delighted in doing good to other men, there is no man ſo ſeldom croſſed as pleaſured at the hands of others; whereupon it

t 1 Tim. iv. 8.

Eccleſ. xii. 13. Iſai. lviii. 6, 7. Rom. xiv. 17. Jam. i. 27. Heb. xii. 14. Epheſ. ii. 10. Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. v. c. 23. Matt. ix. 14, 15. Col. ii. 16.

cannot

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cannot be choſen but every man's woes muſt double in that reſpect the number and meaſure of his delights. Beſides, concerning the very choice which oftentimes we are to make, our corrupt inclination well conſidered, there is cauſe why our Saviour ſhould account them the happieſt that do moſt mourn, and why Solomon might judge it better to frequent mourning than feaſting houſes; not better ſimply and in itſelf, (for then would nature that way incline,) but in regard of us and our common weakneſs better. Job was not ignorant that his children's banquets, though tending to amity, needed ſacrifice. Neither doth any of us all need to be taught that in things which delight we eaſily ſwerve from mediocrity, [a] and are not eaſily led by a right direct line. On the other ſide, the ſores and diſeaſes of mind which inordinate pleaſure breedeth are by dolour and grief cured. For which cauſe as all offences uſe to ſeduce by pleaſing, ſo all puniſhments endeavour by vexing to reform tranſgreſſions. We are of our own accord apt enough to give entertainment to things delectable; but patiently to lack what fleſh and blood doth deſire, and by virtue to forbear what by nature we covet, this no man attaineth unto but with labour and long practice. From hence it ariſeth that in former ages, abſtinence and faſting more than ordinary was always a ſpecial branch of their praiſe in whom it could be obſerved and known, were they ſuch as continually gave themſelves to auſtere life; or men that took often occaſions in private virtuous reſpects to lay Solomon's counſel aſide, *Eat thy bread with joy*, and to be followers of David's example, which ſaith, *I humbled my ſoul with faſting*; or but they who, otherwiſe worthy of no great commendation, have made of hunger, ſome their gain, ſome their phyſic, ſome their art, that, by maſtering ſenſual appetites without conſtraint,

Matt. v. 4. Eccleſ. vii. 2—4.

Job i. 5.

Eccleſ. ix. 7.

Pſal. xxxv. 13.

[a] Ἐν πᾶσι δὲ μάλιστα φυλακτέον τὸ ἡδὺ καὶ τὴν ἡδονήν· οὐ γὰρ ἀδίκως κρίνομεν αὐτήν. Ariſt. Eth. ii. cap. 9.

they

they might grow able to endure hardneſs whenſoever need ſhould require: for the body accuſtomed to emptineſs pineth not away ſo ſoon as having ſtill uſed to fill itſelf. Many ſingular effects there are which ſhould make faſting even in public conſiderations the rather to be accepted. For I preſume we are not altogether without experience how great their advantage is in martial enterpriſes, that lead armies of men trained in a ſchool of abſtinence. It is therefore noted at this day in ſome, that patience of hunger and thirſt hath given them many victories; in others, that becauſe if they want, there is no man able to rule them, nor they in plenty to moderate themſelves, he which can either bring them to hunger or overcharge them, is ſure to make them their own overthrow. What nation ſoever doth feel theſe dangerous inconveniences, may know that ſloth and fulneſs in peaceable times at home is the cauſe thereof, and the remedy a ſtrict obſervation of that part of Chriſtian diſcipline, which teacheth men in practice of ghoſtly warfare againſt themſelves, thoſe things, that afterwards may help them, juſtly aſſaulting or ſtanding in lawful defence of themſelves againſt others. The very purpoſe of the Church of God both in the number and in the order of her faſts, hath been not only to preſerve thereby throughout all ages the remembrance of miſeries heretofore ſuſtained, and of the cauſes in ourſelves out of which they have riſen, that men conſidering the one might fear the other the more, but farther alſo to temper the mind, leſt contrary affections coming in place ſhould make it too profuſe and diſſolute; in which reſpect it ſeemeth that faſts have been ſet as uſhers of feſtival-days, for preventing of thoſe diſorders as much as might be; wherein, notwithſtanding, the world always will deſerve, [a] as it hath done, blame; becauſe ſuch evils being not poſ-

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[a] Valde abſurdum eſt nimia ſaturitate velle honorare Martyrem quem ſcias Deo placuiſſe jejuniis. Hier. Epiſt. ad Euſt.

ſible

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ſible to be rooted out, the moſt we can do, is in keeping them low, and (which is chiefly the fruit we look for) to create in the minds of men a love towards a frugal and ſevere life, to undermine the palaces of wantonneſs; to plant parſimony as nature, where riotouſneſs hath been ſtudied; to harden whom pleaſure would melt; and to help the tumours which always fulneſs breedeth; that children, as it were in the wool of their infancy dyed with hardneſs, may never afterwards change colour; that the poor, whoſe perpetual faſts are of neceſſity, may with better contentment endure the hunger which virtue cauſeth others ſo often to chooſe, and by advice of Religion itſelf ſo far to eſteem above the contrary; that they which for the moſt part do lead ſenſual and eaſy lives, they which, as the prophet David deſcribeth them, *are not plagued like other men*, may by the public ſpectacle of all be ſtill put in mind what themſelves are; finally, that every man may be every man's daily guide and example, as well by faſting to declare humility, as by praiſe to expreſs joy in the ſight of God, although it have herein befallen the Church, as ſometimes David, ſo that the ſpeech of the one may be truly the voice of the other, *My ſoul faſted, and even that was alſo turned to my reproof.*

Pſal. lxxiii. 5.

Pſal. lxix. 10.

The celebration of Matrimony. T. C. l. i. p. 199.

73. In this world there can be no ſociety durable otherwiſe than only by propagation. Albeit therefore ſingle life be a thing more angelical and divine, yet ſith the repleniſhing firſt of earth with bleſſed inhabitants, and then of heaven with Saints everlaſtingly praiſing God, did depend upon conjunction of man and woman, he which made all things complete and perfect, ſaw it could not be good to leave men without any helper unto the fore-alleged end. In things which ſome farther end doth cauſe to be deſired, choice ſeeketh rather proportion than abſolute perfection of goodneſs. So that woman being created for man's ſake to be his helper, in regard of the end before mentioned; namely, the having, and bringing up of children,

children, whereunto it was not poſſible they could concur, unleſs there were ſubalternation between them, which ſubalternation is naturally grounded upon inequality, becauſe things equal in every reſpect are never willingly directed one by another: woman therefore was even in her firſt eſtate framed by Nature, not only after in time, but inferior in excellency alſo unto man, howbeit in ſo due and ſweet proportion, as being preſented before our eyes, might be ſooner perceived than defined. And even herein doth lie the reaſon why that kind of love, which is the perfecteſt ground of wedlock, is ſeldom able to yield any reaſon of itſelf. Now, that which is born of man muſt be nouriſhed with far more travel, as being of greater price in Nature, and of ſlower pace to perfection, than the offspring of any other creature beſides. Man and woman being therefore to join themſelves for ſuch a purpoſe, they were of neceſſity to be linked with ſome ſtrait and inſoluble knot. The bond of wedlock hath been always, more or leſs, eſteemed of as a thing religious and ſacred. The title which the very Heathens themſelves do thereunto oftentimes give [a] is, *holy*. Thoſe rites and orders which were inſtituted in the ſolemnization of marriage the Hebrews term by the name of conjugal [b] *ſanctification*. Amongſt ourſelves, becauſe ſundry things appertaining unto the public order of matrimony are called in queſtion by ſuch as know not from whence thoſe cuſtoms did firſt grow, to ſhew briefly ſome true and ſufficient reaſon of them ſhall not be ſuperfluous; although we do not hereby intend to yield ſo far unto enemies of all Church orders ſaving their own, as though every thing were unlawful, the true cauſe and reaſon whereof at the firſt might hardly perhaps be now rendered. Wherefore, to begin with the times wherein the liberty of marriage is reſtrained; *There is*, ſaith Solo-

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Joel ii. 16. 1 Cor. vii. 5.

Eccleſ. iii. 1—4.

[a] Τὸς ἱερὸς γάμους. Dionyſ. Antiq. lib. ii.

[b] Kidduſchin in Rituali Heb. de benedictione nuptiarum.

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[a] Mulieres antiquo jure tutela perpetua continebat. Recedebant vero a Tutoris poteſtate quæ in manum conveniſſent. Boet. in Topic. Cic.

[b] Nullam ne privatam quidem rem Fœminas ſine auctore agere majores noſtri voluerunt. Liv. l. 4. The reaſon yielded by Tully is this, propter infirmitatem conſilii. Cic. pro Mur. Vide Leg. Saxon. tit. vi. et xvii.

lity;

lity; nothing more fit to ſerve as a token of our purpoſed endleſs continuance in that which we never ought to revoke. This is the cauſe wherefore the Heathens themſelves did in ſuch caſes uſe the ring, whereunto Tertullian alluding, ſaith, that in ancient times, [a] *No woman was permitted to wear gold, ſaving only upon one finger, which her huſband had faſtened unto himſelf, with that ring which was uſually given for aſſurance of future marriage.* The cauſe why the Chriſtians uſe it, as ſome of the Fathers think, is either to teſtify mutual love, or rather to ſerve for a pledge of conjunction in heart and mind agreed upon between them. But what rite and cuſtom is there ſo harmleſs, wherein the wit of man bending itſelf to deriſion may not eaſily find out ſomewhat to ſcorn and jeſt at? He that ſhould have beheld the Jews when they ſtood with a four-cornered garment, ſpread over the heads of eſpouſed couples, while their eſpouſals were in making; he that ſhould have beheld their praying over a cup, and their delivering the ſame at the marriage-feaſt, with ſet forms of benediction, as the order amongſt them was, might, being lewdly affected, take thereat as juſt occaſion of ſcornful cavil, as at the uſe of the ring in wedlock amongſt Chriſtians. But of all things the moſt hardly taken is the uttering of theſe words, *With my body I thee worſhip*; in which words, when once they are underſtood, there will appear as little cauſe as in the reſt for any wiſe man to be offended. Firſt, therefore, inaſmuch as unlawful copulation doth pollute and diſhonour both parties, this proteſtation that we do worſhip and honour another with our bodies, may import a denial of all ſuch lets and impediments to our knowledge as might cauſe any ſtain, blemiſh, or diſgrace that way; which kind of conſtruction being probable, would eaſily approve that ſpeech to a peaceable and quiet mind. Secondly, in

Iſidor. de Eccleſ. Offic. l. ii. c. 19.

Elias Theſb. in dict. Hupha. In Ritual. de benedict. nuptiarum.

Rom. i. 24.

[a] Aurum nulla norat, præter unico digito quem ſponſus oppigneraſſet pronubo annulo. Tertul. Apol. cap. vi.

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that the Apoſtle doth ſo expreſsly affirm that parties married have not any longer entire power over themſelves, but each hath intereſt in other's perſon, it cannot be thought an abſurd conſtruction to ſay, that worſhipping with the body is the imparting of that intereſt in the body unto another which none before had, ſave only ourſelves. But if this were the natural meaning, the words ſhould perhaps be as requiſite to be uſed on the one ſide as on the other; and therefore a third ſenſe there is, which I rather rely upon. Apparent it is that the ancient difference between a lawful wife and a concubine, was only in the different purpoſe of man betaking himſelf to the one or the other. If his purpoſe were only fellowſhip, there grew to the woman by this means no worſhip at all, but the contrary. In profeſſing that his intent was to add by his perſon honour and worſhip unto hers, he took her plainly and clearly to wife. This is it which the civil law doth mean, when it maketh a wife to differ from a concubine in dignity; a wife to be taken where conjugal honour and affection do go before. The worſhip that grew unto her being taken with declaration of this intent was, that her children became by this means legitimate and free; herſelf was made a mother over his family; laſt of all, ſhe received ſuch advancement of ſtate, as things annexed unto his perſon might augment her with; yea, a right of participation was thereby given her both in him, and even in all things which were his. This doth ſomewhat the more plainly appear, by adding alſo that other clauſe, *With all my worldly goods I thee endow.* The former branch having granted the principal, the latter granteth that which is annexed thereunto. To end the public ſolemnity of marriage with receiving the bleſſed Sacrament is a cuſtom ſo religious and ſo holy, that if the Church of England be blameable in this reſpect, it is not for ſuffering it to be ſo much, but rather for not providing that it may be more put

1 Cor. vii. 4.

L. penul. D. de concub.

L. item legato ſect. penult. D. de leg. 3. L. Donationes D. de donationibus.

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in uſe. The laws of Romulus concerning marriage[a] are therefore extolled above the reſt amongſt the Heathens which were before, in that they eſtabliſhed the uſe of certain ſpecial ſolemnities, whereby the minds of men were drawn to make the greater conſcience of wedlock, and to eſteem the bond thereof a thing which could not be without impiety diſſolved. If there be any thing in Chriſtian Religion ſtrong and effectual to like purpoſe, it is the Sacrament of the holy Euchariſt; in regard of the force whereof Tertullian breaketh out into theſe words, concerning matrimony therewith ſealed; *Unde ſufficiam ad enarrandam fœlicitatem ejus matrimonii, quod Eccleſia conciliat, et confirmat Oblatio? I know not which way I ſhould be able to ſhew the happineſs of that wedlock, the knot whereof the Church doth faſten, and the Sacrament of the Church confirm.* Touching marriage therefore let thus much be ſufficient. BOOK V. Tertul. lib. ii. ad uxorem.

74. The fruit of marriage is birth; and the companion of birth, travail; the grief whereof being ſo extreme, and the danger always ſo great, dare we open our mouths againſt the things that are holy, and preſume to cenſure it as a fault in the Church of Chriſt, that women after their deliverance do publicly ſhew their thankful minds unto God? But behold what reaſon there is againſt it! *Forſooth, if there ſhould be ſolemn and expreſs giving of thanks in the Church for every benefit, either equal or greater than this, which any ſingular perſon in the Church doth receive, we ſhould not only have no preaching of the Word, nor miniſtering of the Sacraments, but we ſhould not have ſo much leiſure as to do any corporal or bodily work, but ſhould be like thoſe Maſſilian Heretics which do nothing elſe but pray.* Surely, better a great deal to be like unto thoſe Heretics which do nothing elſe but pray, Churching of women. T. C. l. i. p. 150.

[a] Οὗτος ὁ νόμος τάς τε γυναῖκας ἠνάγκασε τὰς γαμετὰς, οἷα μηδεμίαν ἐχούσας ἑτέραν ἀποστροφὴν πρὸς ἕνα τὸν τῆ γεγαμηκότι ζῆν τρόπον, καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ὡς ἀναγκαίῳ τε καὶ ἀναφαιρέτῳ χρήματος, τῆς γυναικὸς κρατεῖν. Dionyſ. Hal. Antiq. lib. ii. ſect. 71. in fine, p. 95. ed. Francofurd.

BOOK V. than thoſe which do nothing elſe but quarrel. Their heads it might haply trouble ſomewhat more than as yet they are aware of, to find out ſo many benefits greater than this, or equivalent thereunto, for which if ſo be our laws did require ſolemn and expreſs thankſgivings in the Church, the ſame were like to prove a thing ſo greatly cumberſome as is pretended. But if there be ſuch ſtore of mercies, even ineſtimable, poured every day upon thouſands, (as indeed the earth is full of the bleſſings of the Lord, which are day by day renewed without number and above meaſure,) ſhall it not be lawful to cauſe ſolemn thanks to be given unto God for any benefit, than which greater, or whereunto equal are received, no law binding men in regard thereof to perform the like duty? Suppoſe that ſome bond there be, that tieth us at certain times to mention publicly the names of ſundry our benefactors. Some of them, it may be, are ſuch, that a day would ſcarcely ſerve to reckon up together with them the catalogue of ſo many men beſides, as we are either more or equally beholden unto. Becauſe no law requireth this impoſſible labour at our hands, ſhall we therefore condemn that law, whereby the other, being poſſible and alſo dutiful, is enjoined us? So much we owe to the Lord of Heaven, that we can never ſufficiently praiſe him, nor give him thanks for half thoſe benefits, for which this ſacrifice were moſt due. Howbeit, God forbid we ſhould ceaſe performing this duty when public order doth draw us unto it, when it may be ſo eaſily done, when it hath been ſo long executed by devout and virtuous people; God forbid that, being ſo many ways provoked in this caſe unto ſo good a duty, we ſhould omit it, only becauſe there are other caſes of like nature, wherein we cannot ſo conveniently, or at leaſt wiſe do not perform the ſame moſt virtuous office of piety. Wherein we truſt that as the action itſelf pleaſeth God, ſo the order and manner thereof is not ſuch as

may

may juſtly offend any. It is but an overflowing of gall, which cauſeth the woman's abſence from the Church during the time of her lying-in to be traduced and interpreted, as though ſhe were ſo long judged unholy, and were thereby ſhut out or ſequeſtered from the Houſe of God, according to the ancient Levitical Law. Whereas the very Canon Law itſelf doth not ſo hold, but directly profeſſeth the contrary [a]; ſhe is not barred from thence in ſuch ſort as they interpret it, nor, in reſpect of any unholineſs, forbidden entrance into the Church, although her abſtaining from public aſſemblies and her abode in ſeparation for the time be moſt convenient [b]. To ſcoff at the manner of attire, than which there could be nothing deviſed for ſuch a time more grave and decent, to make it a token of ſome folly committed, for which they are loth to ſhew their faces, argueth that ſome divines are ſometimes more merry than wiſe. As for the women themſelves, God accepting the ſervice which they faithfully offer unto him, it is no great diſgrace, though they ſuffer pleaſant-witted men a little to intermingle with zeal, ſcorn. The BOOK V.

[a] Dict. v. cap. Hæc quæ. In lege præcipiebatur, ut mulier ſi maſculum pareret 40. ſi fœminam 80. diebus a templi ceſſaret ingreſſu. Nunc autem ſtatim poſt partum Eccleſiam ingredi non prohibetur.

[b] Leo. Conſtitut. 17. Quod profecto non tam propter muliebrem immunditiem, quam ob alias cauſas in intima legis ratione reconditas, et veteri prohibitum eſſe lege, et gratiæ tempus traditionis loco ſuſcepiſſe puto. Exiſtimo ſiquidem ſacram legem id præſcripſiſſe, quo protervam eorum qui intemperanter viverent concupiſcentiam caſtigaret; quemadmodum et alia multa per alia præcepta ordinantur et præſcribuntur, quo indomitus quorundam in mulieres ſtimulus retundatur. Quin et hæc providentiæ quæ legem conſtituit voluntas eſt, ut partus a depravatione liberi ſint. Quia enim quicquid natura ſupervacaneum eſt, idem corruptivum eſt et inutile, quod hic ſanguis ſuperfluus ſit, quæ illi obnoxiæ eſſent in immunditie, ad id temporis vivere illa lex jubet, quo ipſo etiam nominis ſono laſcivi concupiſcentia ad temperantiam redigatur, ne ex inutili et corrupta materia ipſum animans coagmentetur.

BOOK V. name of Oblations, applied not only here to thoſe ſmall and petit payments which yet are a part of the miniſter's right, but alſo generally given unto all ſuch allowances as ſerve for their needful maintenance, is both ancient and convenient. For as the life of the Clergy is ſpent in the ſervice of God, ſo it is ſuſtained with his revenue. Nothing therefore more proper than to give the name of Oblations to ſuch payments, in token that we offer unto him whatſoever his miniſters receive.

Of the Rites of Burial. T. C. lib. iii p. 36. 75. But to leave this, there is a duty which the Church doth owe to the faithful departed, wherein foraſmuch as the Church of England is ſaid to do thoſe things which are, though not unlawful, yet inconvenient, becauſe it appointeth a preſcript form of ſervice at burials, ſuffereth mourning apparel to be worn, and permitteth funeral-ſermons; a word or two concerning this point will be neceſſary, although it be needleſs to dwell long upon it. The end of funeral duties is, firſt, to ſhew that love towards the party deceaſed, which nature requireth; then to do him that honour, which is fit both generally for man, and particularly for the quality of his perſon; laſt of all, to teſtify the care which the Church hath to comfort the living, and the hope which we all have concerning the reſurrection of the dead. For ſignification of love towards them that are departed, mourning is not denied to be a thing convenient; as in truth the Scripture every where doth approve lamentation made unto this end.

John xi. 35, 36. The Jews by our Saviour's tears therefore gathered in this caſe that his love towards Lazarus was great. And that as mourning at ſuch times is fit, ſo likewiſe that there may be a kind of attire ſuitable to a ſorrowful affection, and convenient for mourners to

2 Sam. xv. 30. wear, how plainly doth David's example ſhew, who, being in heavineſs, went up the mount with his head covered, and all the people that were with him in like ſort? White garments being fit to uſe at marriage

riage feaſts, and ſuch other times of joy, whereunto Solomon alluding, when he requireth continual cheerfulneſs of mind, ſpeaketh in this ſort, *Let thy garments be always white*; what doth hinder the contrary from being now as convenient in grief, as this heretofore in gladneſs hath been? *If there be no ſorrow*, they ſay, *it is hypocritical to pretend it; and if there be, to provoke it by wearing ſuch attire is dangerous.* Nay, if there be, to ſhew it, is natural; and if there be not, yet the ſigns are meet to ſhew what ſhould be, eſpecially, ſith it doth not come oftentimes to paſs, that men are fain to have their mourning gowns pulled off their backs for fear of killing themſelves with ſorrow that way nouriſhed. The honour generally due unto all men maketh a decent interring of them to be convenient, even for very humanity's ſake. And therefore, ſo much as is mentioned in the burial of the widow's ſon, the *carrying of him forth upon a bier*, and the accompanying of him to the earth, hath been uſed even amongſt Infidels; all men accounting it a very extreme deſtitution not to have at the leaſt this honour done them. Some man's eſtate may require a great deal more, according as the faſhion of the country where he dieth doth afford. And unto this appertained the ancient uſe of the Jews, to embalm the corpſe with ſweet odours, and to adorn the ſepulchres of certain. In regard of the quality of men, it hath been judged fit to commend them unto the world at their death, amongſt the Heathen in funeral orations, amongſt the Jews in ſacred poems; and why not in funeral ſermons alſo amongſt Chriſtians? Us it ſufficeth, that the known benefit hereof doth countervail millions of ſuch inconveniences as are therein ſurmiſed, although they were not ſurmiſed only, but found therein. The life and the death of ſaints is precious in God's ſight. Let it not ſeem odious in our eyes, if both the one and the other be ſpoken of then eſpecially, when the preſent

Eccleſ. ix. 8.

Luke vii. 12.

Pſal. lxxix. 3. John xix. 40. Matt. xxiii. 27.

2 Sam. i. 19.

BOOK V. preſent occaſion doth make men's minds the more capable of ſuch ſpeech. The care, no doubt, of the living, both to live and to die well, muſt needs be ſomewhat increaſed, when they know that their departure ſhall not be folded up in ſilence, but the ears of many be made acquainted with it. Moreover, when they hear how mercifully God hath dealt with their brethren in their laſt need, beſides the praiſe which they give to God, and the joy which they have or ſhould have by reaſon of their fellowſhip and communion with ſaints, is not their hope alſo much confirmed againſt the day of their own diſſolution? Again, the ſound of theſe things doth not ſo paſs the ears of them that are moſt looſe and diſſolute in life, but it cauſeth them one time or other to wiſh, *O that I might die the death of the righteous, and that my end might be like his!* Thus much peculiar good there doth grow at thoſe times by ſpeech concerning the dead, beſides the benefit of public inſtruction common unto funeral with other ſermons. For the comfort of them whoſe minds are through natural affection penſive in ſuch caſes, no man can juſtly miſlike the cuſtom which the Jews had to end their burials with funeral banquets, in reference whereunto the prophet Jeremy ſpake concerning the people, whom God had appointed unto a grievous manner of deſtruction, ſaying, *That men ſhould not give them the cup of conſolation to drink for their father, or for their mother,* becauſe it ſhould not be now with them as in peaceable times with others, who bringing their anceſtors unto the grave with weeping eyes, have notwithſtanding means wherewith to be re-comforted. *Give wine,* ſaith Solomon, *unto them that have grief of heart.* Surely he that miniſtereth unto them comfortable ſpeech, doth much more than give them wine. But the greateſt thing of all other about this duty of Chriſtian burial is an outward teſtification of the hope which we have touching the reſurrection of the dead. For which purpoſe, let any man of reaſonable judgment examine,

Jer. xvi. 7.

Prov. xxxi. 6.

1 Chro. xix. 2.

Job ii. 11.

examine, whether it be more convenient for a company of men, as it were, in a dumb ſhow, to bring a corſe to the place of burial, there to leave it covered with earth, and ſo end, or elſe have the exequies devoutly performed with ſolemn recital of ſuch lectures, pſalms, and prayers, as are purpoſely framed for the ſtirring up of men's minds unto a careful conſideration of their eſtate both here and hereafter. Whereas therefore it is objected, that neither the people of God under the Law, nor the Church in the Apoſtles' times, did uſe any form of ſervice in burial of the dead; and therefore, that this order is taken up without any good example or precedent followed therein; firſt, while the world doth ſtand they ſhall never be able to prove, that all things which either the one or the other did uſe at burials are ſet down in holy Scripture, which doth not any where of purpoſe deliver the whole manner and form thereof, but toucheth only ſometime one thing, and ſometime another, which was in uſe, as ſpecial occaſions require any of them to be either mentioned or inſinuated. Again, if it might be proved that no ſuch thing was uſual amongſt them, hath Chriſt ſo deprived his Church of judgment, that what rites and orders ſoever the latter ages thereof have deviſed, the ſame muſt needs be inconvenient? Furthermore, that the Jews before our Saviour's coming had any ſuch form of ſervice, although in Scripture it be not affirmed, yet neither is it there denied, (for the forbidding of prieſts to be preſent at burials letteth not but that others might diſcharge that duty, ſeeing all were not prieſts which had rooms of public function in their ſynagogues,) and if any man be of opinion that they had no ſuch form of ſervice: thus much there is to make the contrary more probable. The Jews at this day have, as appeareth in their form of funeral prayers, and in certain of their funeral ſermons publiſhed; neither are they ſo affected towards Chriſtians, as to borrow that order from us; beſides that, the BOOK V.

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form thereof is such as hath in it sundry things which the very words of the Scripture itself do seem to allude unto, as namely, after departure from the sepulchre unto the house whence the dead was brought, it sheweth the manner of their burial-feast, and a consolatory form of prayer, appointed for the master of the synagogue thereat to utter; albeit I may not deny, but it hath also some things which are not perhaps so ancient as the Law and the Prophets. But whatsoever the Jews' custom was before the days of our Saviour Christ, hath it once at any time been heard of that either Church or Christian man of sound belief did ever judge this a thing unmeet, indecent, unfit for Christianity, till these miserable days, wherein, under the colour of removing superstitious abuses, the most effectual means both to testify and to strengthen true Religion are plucked at, and in some places even pulled up by the very roots? Take away this which was ordained to shew at burials the peculiar hope of the Church of God concerning the dead; and in the manner of those dumb funerals what one thing is there whereby the world may perceive we are Christian men?

Of the nature of that ministry, which serveth for performance of divine duties in the Church of God; and how happiness, not eternal only, but also temporal, doth depend upon it.

76. I come now unto that function which undertaketh the public ministry of holy things according to the Laws of Christian Religion. And because the nature of things, consisting as this doth in action, is known by the object whereabout they are conversant, and by the end or scope whereunto they are referred, we must know that the object of this function is both God and men; God, in that he is publicly worshipped of his Church, and men, in that they are capable of happiness by means which Christian discipline appointeth. So that the sum of our whole labour in this kind is to honour God and to save men. For whether we severally take and consider men one by one, or else gather them into one society and body, as it hath been before declared, that every man's Religion is in him the well-spring of all other sound and

and ſincere virtues, from whence both here in ſome ſort, and hereafter more abundantly, their full joy and felicity ariſeth; becauſe while they live they are bleſſed of God, and when they die their works follow them: ſo at this preſent we muſt again call to mind how the very worldly peace and proſperity, the ſecular happineſs, the temporal and natural good eſtate both of all men, and of all dominions, hangeth chiefly upon Religion, and doth evermore give plain teſtimony, that, as well in this as in other conſiderations, the prieſt is a pillar of that commonwealth wherein he faithfully ſerveth God. For if theſe aſſertions be true, firſt, that nothing can be enjoyed in this preſent world againſt his will which hath made all things; ſecondly, that albeit God doth ſometime permit the impious to have, yet impiety permitteth them not to enjoy, no not temporal bleſſings on earth; thirdly, that God hath appointed thoſe bleſſings to attend as handmaids upon Religion; and fourthly, that, without the work of the miniſtry, Religion by no means can poſſibly continue, the uſe and benefit of that ſacred function even towards all men's worldly happineſs muſt needs be granted. Now the [a] firſt being a theorem both underſtood and confeſſed by all, to labour in proof thereof were ſuperfluous. The ſecond perhaps may be called in queſtion, except it be perfectly underſtood. By good things temporal therefore we mean length of days, health of body, ſtore of friends and well-willers, quietneſs, proſperous ſucceſs of thoſe things we take in

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[a] Si creatura Dei, merito et diſpenſatio Dei ſumus; quis enim magis diligit, quam ille qui fecit? Quis autem ordinatius regit, quam is qui et fecit et diligit? Quis vero ſapientius et fortius ordinare et regere facta poteſt, quam qui et facienda providit et proviſa perfecit? Quapropter omnem poteſtatem a Deo eſſe omnemque ordinationem, et qui non legerunt ſentiunt, et qui legerunt cognoſcunt. Paul. Oroſ. Hiſt. adverſ. Pagan. lib. ii. In Biblioth. Patr. tom. vi. p. 386. ed. Lugd. Οὗτοι τὰ χρήματ' ἴδια κέκτηνται βρότοι, τὰ τῶν θεῶν δ' ἔχοντες ἐπιμελέμεθα. Eurip. Phœniſſ. l. 568, 569.

hand,

BOOK V. hand, riches with fit opportunities to uſe them during life, reputation following us both alive and dead, children, or ſuch as inſtead of children we wiſh to leave ſucceſſors and partakers of our happineſs. Theſe things are naturally every man's deſire, becauſe they are good; and on whom God beſtoweth the ſame, them we confeſs he graciouſly bleſſeth. Of earthly bleſſings the meaneſt is wealth, reputation the chiefeſt. For which cauſe we eſteem the gain of honour an ample recompence for the loſs of all other worldly benefits. But for as much as in all this there is no certain perpetuity of goodneſs, nature hath taught to affect theſe things, not for their own ſake, but with reference and relation to ſomewhat independently good, as is the exerciſe of virtue and ſpeculation of truth. None, whoſe deſires are rightly ordered, would wiſh to live, to breathe, and move, without performance of thoſe actions which are beſeeming man's excellency. Wherefore having not how to employ it, we wax weary even of life itſelf. Health is precious, becauſe ſickneſs doth breed that pain which diſableth action. Again, why do men delight ſo much in the multitude of friends, but for that the actions of life, being many, do need many helping hands to further them? Between troubleſome and quiet days we ſhould make no difference, if the one did not hinder and interrupt, the other uphold our liberty of action. Furthermore, if thoſe things we do, ſucceed, it rejoiceth us not ſo much for the benefit we thereby reap,[a] as in that it probably argueth our actions to have been orderly and well-guided. As for riches, to him which hath and doth nothing with them, they are a contumely. Honour is commonly preſumed a ſign of more than ordinary virtue and merit, by means whereof when ambitious minds thirſt after it, their endeavours are teſtimonies how much it

[a] Οἰόμεθα γὰρ τὸν εὐτυχοῦντα πάντ' ἐπίστασθαι καλῶς. Eurip. Heracl.

is in the eye of nature to poſſeſs that body, the very ſhadow whereof is ſet at ſo high a rate. Finally, ſuch is the pleaſure and comfort which we take in doing, that when life forſaketh us, ſtill our deſires to continue action and to work, though not by ourſelves, yet by them whom we leave behind us, cauſeth us providently to reſign into other men's hands the helps we have gathered for that purpoſe, deviſing alſo the beſt we can to make them perpetual. It appeareth, therefore, how all the parts of temporal felicity are only good in relation to that which uſeth them as inſtruments, and that they are no ſuch good as wherein a right deſire doth ever ſtay or reſt itſelf. Now temporal bleſſings are enjoyed of thoſe which have them, know them, *eſteem them according to that they are in their own nature.* Wherefore of the wicked whom God doth hate, his uſual and ordinary ſpeeches are, that *blood-thirſty and deceitful men ſhall not live out half their days*; that God ſhall cauſe a peſtilence to cleave unto the wicked, and ſhall ſtrike them with conſuming grief, with fevers, burning diſeaſes, and ſores which are paſt cure; that when the impious are fallen, all men ſhould tread them down, and none ſhew countenance of love towards them, as much as by pitying them in their miſery; that the ſins of the ungodly ſhall bereave them of peace; that all counſels, complots, and practices againſt God ſhall come to nothing; that the lot and inheritance of the unjuſt is beggary; that the name of unrighteous perſons ſhall putrefy, and the poſterity of robbers ſtarve. If any think that iniquity and peace, ſin and proſperity can dwell together, they err, becauſe they diſtinguiſh not aright between the matter, and that which giveth it the form of happineſs, between poſſeſſion and fruition, between the having and enjoying of good things. The impious cannot enjoy that they have, partly becauſe they receive it not as at God's hands, which only conſideration maketh temporal bleſſings comfortable; and partly becauſe through error, placing it above things

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Pſal. lv. 23.

Deut. xxviii. 22.

Prov. x.

of

BOOK V. of far more price and worth, they turn that to poiſon which might be food, they make their proſperity their own ſnare; in the neſt of their higheſt growth they lay fooliſhly thoſe eggs out of which their woful overthrow is afterwards hatched. Hereby it cometh to paſs, that wiſe and judicious men, obſerving the vain behaviour of ſuch as are riſen to unwonted greatneſs, have thereby been able to prognoſticate their ruin. So that in very truth no impious or wicked man doth proſper on earth, but either ſooner or later the world may perceive eaſily, how at ſuch time as others thought them moſt fortunate, they had but only the good eſtate which fat oxen have above lean; when they appeared to grow, their climbing was towards ruin [a]. The groſs and beſtial conceit of them which want underſtanding is, only that the fulleſt bellies are happieſt. Therefore the greateſt felicity they wiſh to the commonwealth wherein they live is, that it may but abound and ſtand, that they which are riotous may have to pour out without ſtint; that the poor may ſleep, and the rich feed them; that nothing unpleaſant may be commanded, nothing forbidden men which themſelves have a luſt to follow; that kings may provide for the eaſe of their ſubjects, and not be too curious about their manners; that wantonneſs, exceſs, and lewdneſs of life may be left free; and that no fault may be capital, beſides diſlike of things ſettled in ſo good terms. But be it far from the juſt to dwell either in or near to the tents of theſe ſo miſerable felicities. Now whereas we thirdly affirm, that Religion and the fear of God as well indûeth ſecular proſperity as everlaſting bliſs in the world to come, this alſo is true. For otherwiſe godlineſs could not be ſaid to have the promiſes of both lives; to be that ample revenue wherein there is always ſufficiency; and to carry with it a general diſ-

[a] Prov. xvi, 18. Ante ruinam elatio. Φιλέει γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς τὰ ὑπερήφανα πάντα κολούειν· ἐ γὰρ ἐᾷ φρονέειν ἄλλον μέγα ἢ ἑωυτόν. In relatione Artabani apud Herodot. lib. vii.

charge

charge of want, even ſo general, that David himſelf ſhould proteſt, *he never ſaw the juſt forſaken.* How-beit, to this we muſt add certain ſpecial limitations; as firſt, that we do not forget how crazed and diſeaſed minds (whereof our heavenly Phyſician muſt judge) receive oftentimes moſt benefit by being deprived of thoſe things which are to others beneficially given, as appeareth in that which the Wiſe Man hath noted concerning them, whoſe lives God mercifully doth abridge, leſt wickedneſs ſhould alter their underſtanding; again, that the meaſure of our outward proſperity be taken by proportion with that which every man's eſtate in this preſent life requireth. External abilities are inſtruments of action. It contenteth wiſe artificers to have their inſtruments proportionable to their work, rather fit for uſe, than huge and goodly to pleaſe the eye. Seeing then the actions of a ſervant do not need that which may be neceſſary for men of calling and place in the world, neither men of inferior condition many things which greater perſonages can hardly want, ſurely they are bleſſed in worldly reſpects that have wherewith to perform [a] ſufficiently what their ſtation and place aſketh, though they have no more. For, by reaſon of man's imbecility and proneneſs to elation of mind [b], too high a flow of proſperity is dangerous, too low an ebb again as dangerous, for that the virtue of patience is rare, and the hand of neceſſity ſtronger than ordinary virtue is able to withſtand. Solomon's diſcreet and moderate deſire we all know; *Give me, O Lord, neither riches nor penury.* Men over-high exalted either in honour or in power, or in nobility, or in wealth; they likewiſe that are as much on the contrary hand

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[a] Ἐπὶ τὰν' ἀρκεῖθ' ἱκανὰ τοῖς γε σώφροσιν. Eurip. Phœniſ. v. 567.

[b] Ταπεινοτέρων ὁ λογισμὸς ἴσως, ἀλλ' ὃν ἀσφαλεστέρων, ἴσον ἀπέχειν καὶ ὕψους καὶ πτώματος. Greg. Nazian. Apol. iii. They may haply be the moſt dejected, but they are the wiſeſt for their own ſafety, which fear climbing no leſs than falling. See alſo Ariſt. Polit. lib. iv. cap. 11.

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without that precedent improbity, for which it appeareth in the eyes of ſound and unpartial judges to have proceeded from divine revenge, it paſſeth in the number of human caſualties, whereunto we are all alike ſubject. No miſery is reckoned more than common or human, if God ſo diſpoſe that we paſs through it, and come ſafe to ſhore; even as contrariwiſe, men do not uſe to think thoſe flouriſhing days happy, which do end with tears. It ſtandeth therefore with theſe cautions firm and true, yea, ratified by all men's unfeigned confeſſions, drawn from the very heart of experience, that whether we compare men of note in the world with others of like degree and ſtate, or elſe the ſame men with themſelves; whether we confer one dominion with another, or elſe the different times of one and the ſame dominion; the manifeſt odds between their very outward condition, as long as they ſtedfaſtly were obſerved to honour God, and their ſucceſs, being fallen from him, are remonſtrances more than ſufficient, how all our welfare, even on earth, dependeth wholly upon our religion. Heathens were ignorant of true religion. Yet ſuch as that little was which they knew, it much impaired or bettered always their wordly affairs, as their love and zeal towards it did wane or grow. Of the Jews, did not even their moſt malicious and mortal adverſaries all acknowledge, that to ſtrive againſt them it was in vain as long as their amity with God continued, that nothing could weaken them but apoſtaſy? In the whole courſe of their own proceedings did they ever find it otherwiſe, but that, during their faith and fidelity towards God, every man of them was in war as a thouſand ſtrong, and as much as a grand ſenate for counſel in peaceable deliberations? contrariwiſe, that if they ſwerved, as they often did, their wonted courage and magnanimity forſook them utterly, their ſoldiers and military men trembled at the ſight of the naked ſword; when they entered into mutual conference and ſate in counſel for their own good, that which chil-

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BOOK V. dren might have ſeen their graveſt ſenators could not diſcern; their prophets ſaw darkneſs inſtead of viſions; the wiſe and prudent were as men bewitched, even that which they knew (being ſuch as might ſtand them in ſtead) they had not the grace to utter; or if any thing were well propoſed, it took no place, it entered not into the minds of the reſt to approve and follow it, but, as men confounded with ſtrange and unuſual amazements of ſpirit, they attempted tumultuouſly they ſaw not what; and by the iſſues of all attempts they found no certain concluſion but this, *God and heaven are ſtrong againſt us in all we do.* The cauſe whereof was ſecret fear, which took heart and courage from them; and the cauſe of their fear, an inward guiltineſs that they all had offered God ſuch apparent wrongs as were not pardonable. But it may be the caſe is now altogether changed, and that in Chriſtian Religion there is not the like force towards temporal felicity. Search the ancient records of time, look what hath happened by the ſpace of theſe ſixteen hundred years, ſee if all things to this effect be not luculent and clear, yea all things ſo manifeſt, that for evidence and proof herein, we need not by uncertain dark conjectures ſurmiſe any to have been plagued of God for contempt, or bleſt in the courſe of faithful obedience towards true Religion more than only them, whom we find in that reſpect, on the one ſide, guilty by their own confeſſions, and happy on the other ſide by all men's acknowledgment; who, beholding the proſperous eſtate of ſuch as are good and virtuous, impute boldly the ſame to God's moſt eſpecial favour, but cannot in like manner pronounce that whom he afflicteth above others, with them he hath cauſe to be more offended. For virtue is always plain to be ſeen, rareneſs cauſeth it to be obſerved, and goodneſs to be honoured with admiration. As for iniquity and ſin, it lieth many times hid; and becauſe we be all offenders, it becometh us not to incline towards hard and ſevere ſentences touching others, unleſs their notorious wickedneſs

neſs did ſenſibly before proclaim that which afterwards came to paſs. Wherefore the ſum of every Chriſtian man's duty is, to labour by all means toward that which other men ſeeing in us may juſtify; and what we ourſelves muſt accuſe if we fall into it, that, by all means we can, to avoid; conſidering eſpecially, that as hitherto upon the Church there never yet fell tempeſtuous ſtorm, the vapours whereof were not firſt noted to riſe from coldneſs in affection, and from backwardneſs in duties of ſervice towards God; ſo if that which the tears of antiquity have uttered concerning this point ſhould be here ſet down, it were aſſuredly enough to ſoften and to mollify an heart of ſteel. On the contrary part, although we confeſs with St. Auguſtine moſt willingly, that the chiefeſt happineſs for which we have ſome Chriſtian kings in ſo great admiration above the reſt, is not becauſe of their long reign; their calm and quiet departure out of this preſent life; the ſettled eſtabliſhment of their own fleſh and blood ſucceeding them in royalty and power; the glorious overthrow of foreign enemies, or the wiſe prevention of inward danger, and of ſecret attempts at home; all which ſolaces and comforts of this our unquiet life it pleaſeth God oftentimes to beſtow on them which have no ſociety or part in the joys of heaven, giving thereby to underſtand that theſe in compariſon are toys and trifles, far under the value and price of that which is to be looked for at his hands; but in truth the reaſon wherefore we moſt extol their felicity is, if ſo be they have virtuouſly reigned, if honour hath not filled their hearts with pride, if the exerciſe of their power hath been ſervice and attendance upon the majeſty of the Moſt High, if they have feared him as their own inferiors and ſubjects have feared them, if they have loved neither pomp nor pleaſure more than heaven, if revenge hath ſlowly proceeded from them, and mercy willingly offered itſelf, if ſo they have tempered rigour with lenity, that neither extreme ſeverity might utterly

BOOK V. cut them off, in whom there was manifeſt hope of amendment, nor yet the eaſineſs of pardoning offences embolden offenders; if, knowing that whatſoever they do, their potency may bear it out, they have been ſo much the more careful not to do any thing but that which is commendable in the reſt, rather than uſual with greateſt perſonages; if the true knowledge of themſelves hath humbled them in God's ſight, no leſs than God in the eyes of men hath raiſed them up; I ſay, albeit we reckon ſuch to be the happieſt of them that are mightieſt in the world, and albeit thoſe things alone are happineſs, nevertheleſs, conſidering what force there is even in outward bleſſings to comfort the minds of the beſt diſpoſed, and to give them the greater joy when religion and peace, heavenly and earthly happineſs are wreathed in one crown, as to the worthieſt of Chriſtian princes it hath by the providence of the Almighty hitherto befallen; let it not ſeem to any man a needleſs and ſuperfluous waſte of labour, that there hath been thus much ſpoken, to declare how in them eſpecially it hath been ſo obſerved, and withal univerſally noted, even from the higheſt to the very meaneſt, how this particular benefit, this ſingular grace and preeminence Religion hath, that either it guardeth as an heavenly ſhield from all calamities, or elſe conducteth us ſafe through them, and permitteth them not to be miſeries; it either giveth honours, promotions, and wealth, or elſe more benefit by wanting them than if we had them at will; it either filleth our houſes with plenty of all good things, or maketh a ſallad of green herbs more ſweet than all the ſacrifices of the ungodly. Our fourth propoſition before ſet down was, that Religion, without the help of ſpiritual miniſtry, is unable to plant itſelf; the fruits thereof not poſſible to grow of their own accord. Which laſt aſſertion is herein as the firſt, that it needeth no farther confirmation: if it did, I could eaſily declare how all things which are of God, he hath by wonderful art and wiſdom ſodered as it were

were together with the glue of mutual assistance, appointing the lowest to receive from the nearest to themselves what the influence of the highest yieldeth. And therefore the Church, being the most absolute of all his works, was in reason to be also ordered with like harmony, that what he worketh might, no less in grace than in nature, be effected by hands and instruments duly subordinated unto the power of his own Spirit. A thing both needful for the humility of man, which would not willingly be debtor to any but to himself; and of no small effect to nourish that divine love, which now maketh each embrace other, not as men, but as angels of God. Ministerial actions, tending immediately unto God's honour, and man's happiness, are either as contemplation, which helpeth forward the principal work of the ministry, or else they are parts of that principal work of administration itself, which work consisteth in doing the service of God's House, and in applying unto men the sovereign medicines of grace, already spoken of the more largely, to the end it might thereby appear, that we [a] owe to the guides of our souls even as much as our souls are worth, although the debt of our temporal blessings should be stricken off. BOOK V. Luke xii. 42. 1 Cor. iv. 1. Tit. i. 7. 1 Pet. iv. 10. Ephes. iii. 2.

77. The ministry of things divine is a function, which as God did himself institute, so neither may men undertake the same but by authority and power given them in lawful manner. That God which is no way deficient or wanting unto man in necessaries, and hath therefore given us the light of his heavenly truth, because without that inestimable benefit we must needs have wandered in darkness to our endless perdition and woe, hath, in the like abundance of mercies, ordained certain to attend upon the due execution of requisite parts and offices therein prescribed for the good of the whole world, which men thereunto assigned do hold their authority from him, Of power given unto men to execute that heavenly office; of the gift of the Holy Ghost in Ordination; and whether conveniently the power of order may be sought or sued for.

[a] Καὶ σεαυτόν μοι προσοφείλεις. Epist. ad Philem. ver. 19.

BOOK V. whether they be ſuch as himſelf immediately, or as the Church in his name inveſteth; it being neither poſſible for all, nor, for every man without diſtinction, convenient to take upon him a charge of ſo great importance. They are therefore miniſters of God, not only by way of ſubordination as princes and civil magiſtrates, whoſe execution of judgment and juſtice the ſupreme hand of Divine Providence doth uphold; but miniſters of God, as from whom their authority is derived, and not from men. For in that they are Chriſt's ambaſſadors and his labourers, who ſhould give them their commiſſion but he whoſe moſt inward affairs they manage? Is not God alone the Father of ſpirits? Are not ſouls the purchaſe of Jeſus Chriſt? What Angel in heaven could have ſaid to man, as our Lord did unto Peter, *Feed my ſheep? preach: baptize: do this in remembrance of me: whoſe ſins ye retain, they are retained; and their offences in heaven pardoned, whoſe faults you ſhall on earth forgive.* What think we? Are theſe terreſtrial ſounds, or elſe are they voices uttered out of the clouds above? The power of the miniſtry of God tranſlateth out of darkneſs into glory; it raiſeth men from the earth, and bringeth God himſelf from heaven; by bleſſing viſible elements it maketh them inviſible grace; it giveth daily the Holy Ghoſt, it hath to diſpoſe of that fleſh which was given for the life of the world, and that blood which was poured out to redeem ſouls; when it poureth malediction upon the heads of the wicked, they periſh; when it revoketh the ſame, they revive. O wretched blindneſs, if we admire not ſo great power; more wretched if we conſider it aright, and notwithſtanding imagine that any but God can beſtow it! To whom Chriſt hath imparted power, both over that myſtical body which is the ſociety of ſouls, and over that natural which is himſelf, for the knitting of both in one, (a work which antiquity doth call the making of Chriſt's body,) the ſame power is in ſuch not amiſs both

termed

termed a kind of mark or character, and acknowledged to be indelible. Miniſterial power is a mark of ſeparation, becauſe it ſevereth them that have it from other men, and maketh them a ſpecial Order conſecrated unto the ſervice of the Moſt High in things wherewith others may not meddle. Their difference therefore from other men is in that they are a diſtinct Order. So Tertullian calleth them. And St. Paul himſelf, dividing the body of the Church of Chriſt into two moieties, nameth the one part ἰδιώτας, which is as much as to ſay the Order of the Laity, the oppoſite part whereunto we in like ſort term the Order of God's Clergy, and the ſpiritual power which he hath given them, the power of their Order, ſo far forth as the ſame conſiſteth in the bare execution of holy things, called properly the affairs of God. For of the power of their juriſdiction over men's perſons we are to ſpeak in the books following. They which have once received this power may not think to put it off and on like a cloak, as the weather ſerveth, to take it, reject and reſume it as oft as themſelves liſt; of which profane and impious contempt theſe latter times have yielded, as of all other kinds of iniquity and apoſtaſy, ſtrange examples. But let them know, which put their hands unto this plough, that once conſecrated unto God, they are made his peculiar inheritance for ever. Suſpenſions may ſtop, and degradations utterly cut off the uſe or exerciſe of power before given; but voluntarily it is not in the power of man to ſeparate and pull aſunder what God by his authority coupleth. So that although there may be through miſdeſert degradation, as there may be cauſe of juſt ſeparation after matrimony; yet if (as ſometimes it doth) reſtitution to former dignity, or reconciliation after breach doth happen, neither doth the one nor the other ever iterate the firſt knot. Much leſs is it neceſſary, which ſome have urged, concerning the re-ordination of ſuch, as others in times more corrupt did conſecrate heretofore.

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Tertul. de Adhort. Caſtit.

Heb. ii. 17.

Matth. xix. 4—9.

Which

BOOK V. Which error, already quelled by Saint Jerom, doth not now require any other refutation. Examples I grant there are which make for reſtraint of thoſe men from admittance again into rooms of ſpiritual function, whoſe fall by hereſy, or want of conſtancy in profeſſing the Chriſtian Faith, hath been once a diſgrace to their calling. Nevertheleſs, as there is no law which bindeth, ſo there is no cauſe that ſhould always lead to ſhew one and the ſame ſeverity towards perſons culpable. Goodneſs of nature itſelf more inclineth to clemency than rigour. And we in other men's offences do behold the plain image of our own imbecility. Beſides alſo them that wander out of the way [a] it cannot be unexpedient to win with all hopes of favour, leſt ſtrictneſs uſed towards ſuch as reclaim themſelves ſhould make others more obſtinate in error. Wherefore after that the Church of Alexandria had ſomewhat recovered itſelf from the tempeſts and ſtorms of Arianiſm, being in conſultation about the re-eſtabliſhment of that which by long diſturbance had been greatly decayed and hindered, the ferventer ſort gave quick ſentence, that touching them which were of the Clergy, and had ſtained themſelves with hereſy, there ſhould be none ſo received into the Church again as to continue in the order of the Clergy. The reſt, which conſidered how many men's caſes it did concern, thought it much more ſafe and conſonant to bend ſomewhat down towards them which were fallen; to ſhew ſeverity upon a few of the chiefeſt leaders, and to offer to the reſt a friendly reconciliation, without any other demand, ſaving only the abjuration of their error; as in the Goſpel that waſteful young man which returned home to his father's houſe was with joy both admitted and honoured, his elder brother

Ruffin. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. cap. 28.

[a] In 12 tabulis cautum eſt, ut idem juris eſſet ſanantibus, quod fortibus, id eſt bonis et qui nunquam defecerunt a populo Romano. Feſt. in ver. Samnites.

hardly

hardly thought of for repining thereat; neither commended ſo much for his own fidelity and virtue, as blamed for not embracing him freely, whoſe unexpected recovery ought to have blotted out all remembrance of miſdemeanors and faults paſt. But of this ſufficient. A thing much ſtumbled at in the manner of giving Orders is our uſing thoſe memorable words of our Lord and Saviour Chriſt, *Receive the Holy Ghoſt.* The Holy Ghoſt, they ſay, we cannot give, and therefore we [a] fooliſhly bid men receive it. Wiſe men, for their authority's ſake, muſt have leave to befool them whom they are able to make wiſe by better inſtruction. Notwithſtanding, if it may pleaſe their wiſdom, as well to hear what fools can ſay, as to control that which they do, thus we have heard ſome wiſe men teach, namely, that the Holy Ghoſt may be uſed to ſignify not the perſon alone, but the gift of the Holy Ghoſt; and we know that ſpiritual gifts are not only abilities to do things miraculous, as to ſpeak with tongues which were never taught us, to cure diſeaſes without art, and ſuch like; but alſo that the very authority and power which is given men in the Church to be miniſters of holy things, this is contained within the number of thoſe gifts whereof the Holy Ghoſt is author; and therefore he which giveth this power may ſay without abſurdity or folly, *Receive the Holy Ghoſt,* ſuch power as the Spirit of Chriſt hath endued his Church withal, ſuch power as neither Prince nor Potentate, King nor Cæſar on earth can give. So that if men alone had deviſed this form of ſpeech, thereby to expreſs the heavenly well-ſpring of that power which Eccleſiaſtical Ordinations do beſtow, it is not ſo fooliſh but that wiſe men might bear with

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Eccleſ. Diſcip. fol. 52. p. 2. l. 1.

[a] Papiſticus quidam ritus, ſtulte quidem ab illis et ſine ullo Scripturæ fundamento inſtitutus, et a diſciplinæ noſtræ autoribus (pace illorum dixerim) non magno primum judicio acceptus, minore adhuc in Eccleſia noſtra retinetur. Eccleſiaſt. Diſcip. pag. 53.

it.

BOOK V. it. If then our Lord and Saviour himſelf have uſed the ſelf-ſame form of words, and that in the ſelf-ſame kind of action, although there be but the leaſt ſhew of probability, yea or any poſſibility that his meaning might be the ſame which ours is, it ſhould teach ſober and grave men not to be too venturous in condemning that of folly, which is not impoſſible to have in it more profoundneſs of wiſdom, than fleſh and blood ſhould preſume to control. Our Saviour, after his reſurrection from the dead, gave his Apoſtles their commiſſion, ſaying, *All power is given me in heaven and in earth: Go therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, teaching them to obſerve all things whatſoever I have commanded you.* In ſum, *As my Father ſent me, ſo ſend I you.* Whereunto St. John doth add farther, that *having thus ſpoken, he breathed on them, and ſaid, Receive the Holy Ghoſt.* By which words he muſt of likelihood underſtand ſome gift of the Spirit which was preſently at that time beſtowed upon them, as both the ſpeech of actual delivery in ſaying *Receive*, and the viſible ſign thereof, his breathing, did ſhew. Abſurd it were to imagine our Saviour did both to the ear, and alſo to the very eye, expreſs a real donation, and they at that time receive nothing. It reſteth then that we ſearch what ſpecial grace they did at that time receive. Touching miraculous power of the Spirit, moſt apparent it is, that as then they received it not, but the promiſe thereof was to be ſhortly after performed. The words of St. Luke concerning that power are therefore ſet down with ſignification of the time to come, *Behold I will ſend the promiſe of my Father upon you, but tarry you in the city of Jeruſalem until ye be endued with power from on high.* Wherefore, undoubtedly, it was ſome other effect of the Spirit, the Holy Ghoſt in ſome other kind, which our Saviour did then beſtow. What other likelier than that which himſelf doth mention, as it ſhould

Matth. xxviii. 18, 19, 20.

John xx. 21, 22.

Luke xxiv. 49.

ſhould ſeem of purpoſe to take away all ambiguous conſtructions, and to declare that the Holy Ghoſt which he then gave was an holy and a ghoſtly authority, authority over the ſouls of men, authority, a part whereof conſiſteth in power to remit and retain ſins? *Receive the Holy Ghoſt: whoſe ſins ſoever ye remit, they are remitted; whoſe ſins ye retain, they are retained.* John xx. 23. Whereas therefore the other Evangeliſts had ſet down, that Chriſt did before his ſuffering promiſe to give his Apoſtles the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and being riſen from the dead promiſed moreover at that time a miraculous power of the Holy Ghoſt, St. John addeth, that he alſo inveſted them even then with the power of the Holy Ghoſt for caſtigation and relaxation of ſin, wherein was fully accompliſhed that which the promiſe of the keys did import. Seeing therefore that the ſame power is now given, why ſhould the ſame form of words expreſſing it be thought fooliſh? The cauſe why we breathe not, as Chriſt did on them unto whom he imparted power, is, for that neither Spirit nor ſpiritual authority may be thought to proceed from us, who are but delegates or aſſigns to give men poſſeſſion of his graces. Now beſides that the power and authority delivered with thoſe words is itſelf χάρισμα, a gracious donation which the Spirit of God doth beſtow, we may moſt aſſuredly perſuade ourſelves, that the hand which impoſeth upon us the function of our miniſtry, doth under the ſame form of words ſo tie itſelf hereunto, that he which receiveth the burden is thereby for ever warranted to have the Spirit with him, and in him, for his aſſiſtance[a], aid, countenance, and ſupport in

[a] Et ſi neceſſarium eſt trepidare de merito, religioſum eſt tamen gaudere de dono: quoniam qui mihi oneris eſt autor, ipſe fiet adminiſtrationis adjutor; et ne magnitudine gratiæ ſuccumbat infirmus, dabit virtutem qui contulit dignitatem. Leo. ſer. 1. in anniver. die A. Τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐδόθη ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν διακονίαν ταύτην. Greg. Nazian.

whatſoever

BOOK V. whatſoever he faithfully doth to diſcharge duty Knowing therefore that when we take ordination we alſo receive the preſence of the Holy Ghoſt, partly to guide, direct, and ſtrengthen us in all our ways, and partly to aſſume unto itſelf for the more authority thoſe actions that appertain to our place and calling, can our ears admit ſuch a ſpeech uttered in the reverend performance of that ſolemnity; or can we at any time renew the memory and enter into ſerious cogitation thereof, but with much admiration and joy? Remove what theſe fooliſh words do imply, and what hath the miniſtry of God beſides wherein to glory? Whereas now, foraſmuch as the Holy Ghoſt, which our Saviour in his firſt ordinations gave, doth no leſs concur with ſpiritual vocations throughout all ages, than the Spirit, which God derived from Moſes to them that aſſiſted him in his government, did deſcend from them to their ſucceſſors in like authority and place, we have for the leaſt and meaneſt duties, performed by virtue of miniſterial power, that to dignify, grace, and authorize them, which no other offices on earth can challenge. Whether we preach, pray, baptize, communicate, condemn, give abſolution, or whatſoever; as diſpoſers of God's myſteries, our words, judgments, acts, and deeds are not ours, but the Holy Ghoſt's. Enough, if unfeignedly and in heart we did believe it, enough to baniſh whatſoever may juſtly be thought corrupt either in beſtowing, or in uſing, or in eſteeming the ſame otherwiſe than is meet. For profanely to beſtow, or looſely to uſe, or vilely to eſteem of the Holy Ghoſt, we all in ſhew and profeſſion abhor. Now becauſe the miniſtry is an office of dignity and honour, ſome are doubtful whether any man may ſeek for it without offence; or, to ſpeak more properly, doubtful they are not, but rather bold to accuſe our diſcipline in this reſpect, as not only permitting, but requiring alſo ambitious ſuits, or other oblique ways or means whereby to

Numb. xi. 17.

Author. Lib. Diſcip. Eccleſiaſt.

to obtain it. Againſt this they plead, that our Saviour did ſtay till his Father ſent him, and the Apoſtles till he them; that the ancient Biſhops in the Church of Chriſt were examples and patterns of the ſame modeſty. Whereupon in the end they infer, *Let us therefore at the length amend that cuſtom of repairing from all parts unto the Biſhop at the day of ordination, and of ſeeking to obtain orders; let the cuſtom of bringing commendatory letters be removed; let men keep themſelves at home, expecting there the voice of God, and the authority of ſuch as may call them to undertake the charge.* Thus ſeverely they cenſure and control ambition, if it be ambition which they take upon them to reprehend. For of that there is cauſe to doubt. Ambition, as we underſtand it, hath been accounted a vice which ſeeketh after honours inordinately. Ambitious minds, eſteeming it their greateſt happineſs to be admired, reverenced, and adored above others, uſe all means lawful and unlawful which may bring them to high rooms. But as for the power of order conſidered by itſelf, and as in this caſe it muſt be conſidered, ſuch reputation it hath in the eye of this preſent world, that they which affect it, rather need encouragement to bear contempt, than deſerve blame as men that carry aſpiring minds. The work whereunto this power ſerveth is commended, and the deſire thereof allowed by the Apoſtle for good. Nevertheleſs, becauſe the burden thereof is heavy, and the charge great, it cometh many times to paſs, that the minds even of virtuous men are drawn into clean contrary affections, ſome in humility declining that by reaſon of hardneſs, which others in regard of goodneſs only do with fervent alacrity covet. So that there is not the leaſt degree in this ſervice, but it may be both in [a] reve-

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1 Tim. iii. 1.

[a] Τῶν παλαιῶν τὸς εὐδοκιμωτάτους ἀνασκοπῶν εὑρίσκω ὅσους πώποτε εἰς ἐπισκοπὴν ἡ προφητείαν ἡ χάρις προὐκάλετο, τὸς μὲν ἑξόντας προθύμως τῇ κλήσει, τὸς δὲ ἀναλλομένους τὸ χάρισμα, καὶ ὑδετέρως μεμπτὸν, ὅτε τῶν ὑποχω-

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rence ſhunned, and of very devotion longed for. If then the deſire thereof may be holy, religious, and good, may not the profeſſion of that deſire be ſo likewiſe? We are not to think it ſo long good as it is diſſembled, and evil if once we begin to open it. And allowing that it may be opened without ambition, what offence, I beſeech you, is there in opening it there, where it may be furthered and ſatiſfied, in caſe they to whom it appertaineth think meet?. In vain are thoſe deſires allowed, the accompliſhment whereof it is not lawful for men to ſeek. Power therefore of Eccleſiaſtical order may be deſired, the deſire thereof may be profeſſed, they which profeſs themſelves that way inclined may endeavour to bring their deſires to effect, and in all this no neceſſity of evil. Is it the bringing of teſtimonial letters wherein ſo great obliquity conſiſteth? What more ſimple, more plain, more harmleſs, more agreeable with the law of common humanity, than that men, where they are not known, uſe for their eaſier acceſs the credit of ſuch as can beſt give teſtimony of them? Letters of any other conſtruction our Church diſcipline alloweth not; and theſe to allow, is neither to require ambitious ſuings, nor to approve any indirect or unlawful act. The prophet Eſay, receiving his meſſage at the hands of God, and his charge by heavenly viſion, heard the voice of the Lord, ſaying, *Whom ſhall I ſend? Who ſhall go for us?* Whereunto he recordeth his own anſwer, *Then I ſaid, Here, Lord, I am; ſend me.* Which in effect is the rule and canon whereby touching this point the very order of the Church is framed. The appointment of times for ſolemn ordination is but the public demand of the Church in the name of the Lord himſelf, *Whom ſhall I ſend? Who ſhall go for us?*

Iſaiah vi. 8.

ὑποχωρησάντων τὴν δειλίαν, οὔτε τῶν ὁρμησάντων τὴν προθυμίαν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῆς διακονίας τὸ μέγεθος ηὐλαβήθησαν, οἱ δὲ τῷ καλοῦντι πιστεύσαντες ἠκολούθησαν. Greg. Nazian. Apologet. p. 44. tom. i. ed. Par.

The

The confluence of men, whoſe inclinations are bent that way, is but the anſwer thereunto, whereby the labours of ſundry being offered, the Church hath freedom to take whom her agents in ſuch caſe think meet and requiſite. As for the example of our Saviour Chriſt, who took not to himſelf this honour to be made our High Prieſt, but received the ſame from him which ſaid, *Thou art a Prieſt for ever after the order of Melchiſedeck*, his waiting and not attempting to execute the office till God ſaw convenient time, may ſerve in reproof of uſurped honours, foraſmuch as we ought not of our own accord to aſſume dignities, whereunto we are not called as Chriſt was. But yet it ſhould be withal conſidered, that a proud uſurpation without any orderly calling is one thing, and another the bare declaration of willingneſs to obtain admittance; which willingneſs of mind, I ſuppoſe, did not want in him whoſe anſwer was to the voice of his heavenly calling, *Behold I am come to do thy will.* And had it been for him, as it is for us, expedient to receive his commiſſion ſigned with the hands of men, to ſeek it might better have beſeemed his humility, than it doth our boldneſs to reprehend them of pride and ambition, that make no worſe kind of ſuits than by letters of information. Himſelf in calling his Apoſtles prevented all cogitations of theirs that way, to the end it might truly be ſaid of them, *Ye choſe not me, but I of my own voluntary motion made choice of you.* Which kind of undeſired nomination to Eccleſiaſtical places befel divers of the moſt famous amongſt the ancient Fathers of the Church in a clean contrary conſideration. For our Saviour's election reſpected not any merit or worth, but took them which were fartheſt off from likelihood of fitneſs; that afterwards their ſupernatural ability and performance, beyond hope, might cauſe the greater admiration: whereas in the other, mere admiration of their ſingular and rare virtues was the reaſon why honours were enforced upon them,

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Heb. v. 5, 6.

Heb. x. 9.

BOOK V. them, which they of meekneſs and modeſty did what they could to avoid. But did they ever judge it a thing unlawful to wiſh or deſire the office, the only charge and bare function of their miniſtry? Towards which labour, what doth the bleſſed Apoſtle elſe but encourage, ſaying, *He which deſireth it, is deſirous of a good work?* What doth he elſe by ſuch ſentences but ſtir, kindle, and inflame ambition; if I may term that deſire ambition, which coveteth more to teſtify love by painfulneſs in God's ſervice, than to reap any other benefit? Although of the very honour itſelf, and of other emoluments annexed to ſuch labours for more encouragement of man's induſtry, we are not ſo to conceive neither, as if no affection could be caſt towards them without offence. Eccluſ. vii. 6. Only, as the Wiſe Man giveth counſel, *Seek not to be made a judge, leſt thou be not able to take away iniquity, and leſt thou, fearing the perſon of the mighty, ſhouldeſt commit an offence againſt thine uprightneſs*; ſo it always behoveth men to take good heed, leſt affection to that, which hath in it as well difficulty as goodneſs, ſophiſticate the true and ſincere judgment which beforehand they ought to have of their own ability, for want whereof many forward minds have found, inſtead of contentment, repentance. But foraſmuch as hardneſs of things in themſelves moſt excellent cooleth the fervency of men's deſires, unleſs there be ſomewhat naturally acceptable to incite labour, (for both the method of ſpeculative knowledge doth, by things which we ſenſibly perceive, conduct to that which is in nature more certain, though leſs ſenſible, and the method of virtuous actions is alſo to train beginners at the firſt by things acceptable unto the taſte of natural appetite, till our minds at the length be ſettled to embrace things precious in the eye of reaſon, merely and wholly for their own ſakes,) howſoever inordinate deſires do hereby take occaſion to abuſe the polity of God and Nature, either affecting without worth, or procuring by unſeemly means that which

which was inſtituted, and ſhould be reſerved for better minds to obtain by more approved courſes, in which conſideration the Emperors Anthemius and Leo did worthily oppoſe againſt ſuch ambitious practices that ancient and famous Conſtitution, wherein they have theſe ſentences; *Let not a Prelate be ordained for reward or upon requeſt, who ſhould be ſo far ſequeſtered from all ambition, that they which advance him might be fain to ſearch where he hideth himſelf, to entreat him drawing back, and to follow him till importunity have made him yield. Let nothing promote him but his excuſes to avoid the burden. They are unworthy of that vocation which are not thereunto brought unwillingly:* notwithſtanding, we ought not therefore with the odious name of ambition to traduce and draw into hatred every poor requeſt or ſuit, wherein men may ſeem to affect honour; ſeeing that ambition and modeſty do not always ſo much differ in the mark they ſhoot at, as in the manner of their proſecutions. Yea, even in this may be error alſo, if we ſtill imagine them leaſt ambitious, which moſt forbear to ſtir either hand or foot towards their own preferments. For there are that make an idol of their great ſufficiency, and becauſe they ſurmiſe the place ſhould be happy that might enjoy them, they walk every where like grave pageants, obſerving whether men do not wonder why ſo ſmall account is made of ſo rare worthineſs; and in caſe any other man's advancement be mentioned, they either ſmile or bluſh at the marvellous folly of the world, which ſeeth not where dignities ſhould offer themſelves. Seeing therefore that ſuits after ſpiritual functions may be as ambitiouſly forborne as proſecuted, it remaineth that the [a] eveneſt line of moderation between both

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[a] Μέσος εἰμί τις τῶν τε ἄγαν τολμηρῶν καὶ τῶν λίαν δειλῶν, τῶν μὲν πάσαις ἐπιπηδώντων (προσασίαις) δειλότερος, τῶν δὲ φευγόντων πάσας θαρσαλεώτερος. Greg. Nazian. Apologet. p. 43. tom. i. ed Par.

BOOK V.

is, neither to follow them without conſcience, nor of pride to withdraw ourſelves utterly from them.

Of degrees, whereby the power of Order is diſtinguiſhed; and concerning the attire of Miniſters.

78. It pleaſed Almighty God to chooſe to himſelf, for diſcharge of the [a] legal miniſtry, one only tribe out of twelve others, the tribe of Levi; not all unto every divine ſervice, but Aaron and his ſons to one charge, the reſt of that ſanctified tribe to another. With what ſolemnities they were admitted into their functions, in what manner Aaron and his ſucceſſors the High-Prieſts aſcended every ſabbath and feſtival-day, offered and miniſtered in the temple; with what ſin-offering once every year they reconciled firſt themſelves and their own houſe, afterwards the people unto God; how they confeſſed all the iniquities of the children of Iſrael, laid all their treſpaſſes upon the head of a ſacred goat, and ſo carried them out of the city; how they purged the holy place from all uncleanneſs; with what reverence they entered within the veil, preſented themſelves before the mercy-ſeat, and conſulted with the Oracle of God; what ſervice the other prieſts did continually in the holy place, how they miniſtered about the lamps, morning and evening; how every ſabbath they placed on the table of the Lord thoſe twelve loaves with pure incenſe, in perpetual remembrance of that mercy which the fathers, the twelve tribes, had found by the providence of God for their food, when hunger cauſed them to leave their natural ſoil, and to ſeek for ſuſtenance in Egypt; how they employed themſelves in ſacrifice day by day; finally, what offices the Levites diſcharged, and what duties the reſt did execute, it were a labour too long to enter into it, if I ſhould collect that which Scriptures and other ancient records do mention. Beſides theſe, there were indifferently out of all tribes from time to

[a] Πρὸς διατήρησιν καὶ φυλακὴν ὁσιότητος καὶ εὐσεβείας καὶ λειτουργιῶν αἱ τρὸς τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ τιμὴν ἀναφέρονται. Philo, p. 297.

time

time ſome called of God as prophets, foreſhewing them things to come, and giving them counſel in ſuch particulars as they could not be directed in by the Law; ſome choſen men to read, ſtudy, and interpret the Law of God, as the ſons or ſcholars of the old prophets, in whoſe room afterwards ſcribes and expounders of the Law ſucceeded. And, becauſe where ſo great variety is, if there ſhould be equality, confuſion would follow, the Levites were in all their ſervice at the appointment and direction of the ſons of Aaron, or prieſts; they ſubject to the principal guides and leaders of their own order; and they all in obedience under the High-Prieſt. Which difference doth alſo manifeſt itſelf in the very titles that men for honour's ſake gave unto them, terming Aaron and his ſucceſſors, High or Great; the ancients over the companies of Prieſts, Arch-Prieſts; Prophets, Fathers; Scribes and Interpreters of the Law, Maſters. Touching the miniſtry of the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, the whole body of the Church being divided into Laity and Clergy, the Clergy are either Preſbyters or Deacons. I rather term the one ſort Preſbyters than [a] Prieſts, becauſe in a matter of ſo ſmall moment I would not willingly offend their ears, to whom the name of prieſthood is odious, though without cauſe. For as things are diſtinguiſhed BOOK V.

[a] T. C. lib. i. pag. 198. For ſo much as the common and uſual ſpeech of England is to note by the word prieſt, not a miniſter of the Goſpel, but a ſacrificer, which the miniſter of the Goſpel is not, therefore we ought not to call the miniſters of the Goſpel, prieſts. And that this is the Engliſh ſpeech, it appeareth by all the Engliſh tranſlations, which tranſlate always ἱερεῖς, which were ſacrificers, prieſts, and do not on the other ſide, for any that ever I read, tranſlate πρεσβύτερον, a prieſt. Seeing therefore a prieſt with us, and in our tongue, doth ſignify both by the Papiſts' judgment, in reſpect of their abominable maſs, and alſo by the judgment of the Proteſtants, in reſpect of the beaſts which were offered in the Law, a ſacrificing office, which the miniſter of the Goſpel neither doth nor can execute; it is manifeſt, that it cannot be without great offence ſo uſed.

BOOK V. one from another by thoſe true eſſential forms, which being really and actually in them do not only give them the very laſt and higheſt degree of their natural perfection, but are alſo the knot, foundation, and root whereupon all other inferior perfections depend; ſo if they that firſt do impoſe names did always underſtand exactly the nature of that which they nominate, it may be that then, by hearing the terms of vulgar ſpeech, we ſhould ſtill be taught what the things themſelves moſt properly are. But becauſe words have ſo many artificers by whom they are made, and the things whereunto we apply them are fraught with ſo many varieties, it is not always apparent what the firſt inventors reſpected, much leſs what every man's inward conceit is which uſeth theſe words. For any thing myſelf can diſcern herein, I ſuppoſe that they which have bent their ſtudy to ſearch more diligently ſuch matters, do, for the moſt part, find that names adviſedly given had either regard unto that which is naturally moſt proper; or if perhaps to ſome other ſpeciality, to that which is ſenſibly moſt eminent in the thing ſignified; and concerning popular uſe of words, that which the wiſdom of their inventors did intend thereby is not commonly thought of, but by the name the thing altogether conceived in groſs; as may appear in that if you aſk of the common ſort what any certain word, for example, what a prieſt doth ſignify; their manner is not to anſwer, a prieſt is a clergyman which offereth ſacrifice to God; but they ſhew ſome particular perſon whom they uſe to call by that name. And if we liſt to deſcend to grammar, we are told by maſters in thoſe ſchools, that the word Prieſt hath his right place ἐπὶ τῷ ψιλῶς προεςῶτος τῆς θεραπείας τῷ Θεῷ, in him whoſe mere function or charge is the ſervice of God. Howbeit, becauſe the eminenteſt part both of Heatheniſh and Jewiſh ſervice did conſiſt in ſacrifice, when learned men declare what the word prieſt doth properly ſignify, according to the mind of the firſt impoſer of that name, their ordinary

Etymol. magn.

ſchools

[a] ſchools do well expound it to imply ſacrifice. Seeing then that ſacrifice is now no part of the Church-miniſtry, how ſhould the name of prieſthood be thereunto rightly applied? Surely even as St. Paul applieth the name of [b] *fleſh* unto that very ſubſtance of fiſhes, which hath a proportionable correſpondence to fleſh, although it be in nature another thing. Whereupon, when philoſophers will ſpeak warily, they [c] make a difference between fleſh in one ſort of living creatures, and that other ſubſtance in the reſt which hath but a kind of analogy to fleſh; the Apoſtle contrariwiſe, having matter of greater importance whereof to ſpeak, nameth indifferently both fleſh. The Fathers of the Church of Chriſt with like ſecurity of ſpeech call uſually the miniſtry of the Goſpel *Prieſthood*, in regard of that which the Goſpel hath proportionable to ancient ſacrifices; namely, the communion of the bleſſed body and blood of Chriſt, although it hath properly now no ſacrifice. As for the people, when they hear the name, it draweth no more their minds to any cogitation of ſacrifice, than the name of a ſenator or of an alderman cauſeth them to think upon old age, or to imagine that every one ſo termed muſt needs be ancient, becauſe years were reſpected in the firſt nomination of both. Wherefore to paſs by the name, let them uſe what dialect they will, whether we call it a prieſthood, a preſbyterſhip, or a miniſtry, it ſkilleth not: although in truth the word *Preſbyter* doth ſeem more fit, and in propriety of ſpeech more agreeable than *Prieſt* with the drift of the whole Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt. For what are they that embrace the Goſpel but ſons of God? What are Churches but his families? Seeing

BOOK V.

1 Cor. xv. 39.

[a] Ἱερεῦσαι, θυσιάσαι.

[b] Heſy. Chriſtus Homo dicitur, quia natus eſt; Propheta, quia futura revelavit; Sacerdos, quia pro nobis hoſtiam ſe obtulit. Iſid. Orig. lib. vii. cap. 2.

[c] Ἔχει δ' ἀπορίαν—τὶ τὸ αἰσθητήριον τὸ τῆ ἁπτῆ ἁπτικὸν, πότερον ἡ σάρξ· ἢ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις τὸ ἀνάλογον ἢ ὄ. Ariſt. de Anima, lib. ii. c. 11.

BOOK V. therefore we receive the adoption and ſtate of ſons by their miniſtry whom God hath choſen out for that purpoſe; ſeeing alſo that when we are the ſons of God, our continuance is ſtill under their care which were our progenitors, what better title could there be given them than the reverend name of *Preſbyters*, or fatherly guides? The Holy Ghoſt throughout the body of the New Teſtament, making ſo much mention of them, doth not any where call them Prieſts. Iſaiah lxvi. 21. The prophet Eſay, I grant, doth, but in ſuch ſort as the ancient Fathers, by way of analogy. A Preſbyter, according to the proper meaning of the New Teſtament, is he unto whom our Saviour Chriſt hath communicated the power of ſpiritual procreation. Out of twelve Patriarchs iſſued the whole multitude of Iſrael according to the fleſh. And, according to the myſtery of heavenly birth, our Lord's Apoſtles we all acknowledge to be the Patriarchs of his whole Church. Rev. iv. 4. Rev. xxi. 14. Matt. xix. 28. 1 Pet. v. 1. St. John therefore beheld ſitting about the throne of God in heaven four and twenty Preſbyters, the one half fathers of the old, the other of the new Jeruſalem. In which reſpect the Apoſtles likewiſe gave themſelves the ſame title, albeit that name were not proper, but common unto them with others. For of Preſbyters, ſome were greater, ſome leſs in power, and that by our Saviour's own appointment; the greater they which received fulneſs of ſpiritual power; the leſs, they to whom leſs was granted. The Apoſtles' peculiar charge was to publiſh the Goſpel of Chriſt unto all nations, and to deliver them his ordinances received by [a] immediate revelation from himſelf. Which preeminence excepted to all other offices and duties incident unto their order, it was in them to ordain and conſecrate whomſoever they thought meet, even as our Saviour did himſelf aſſign ſeventy other of his own diſciples inferior Preſbyters, whoſe commiſſion to preach and baptize was the ſame which the Apoſtles had. Whereas there-

[a] Οἱ δ' ἱερῶν θεοπαραδότως νομοθεταί. Dionyſ. Areop. p. 110.

fore

fore we find that the very firſt ſermon which the Apoſtles did publicly make, was the converſion of above three thouſand ſouls, unto whom there were every day more and more added, they having no open place permitted them for the exerciſe of Chriſtian Religion, think we that twelve were ſufficient to teach and adminiſter Sacraments in ſo many private places, as ſo great a multitude of people did require? This harveſt our Saviour (no doubt) foreſeeing, provided accordingly labourers for it beforehand. By which means it came to paſs that the growth of that Church, being ſo great and ſo ſudden, they had notwithſtanding in a readineſs Preſbyters enough to furniſh it. And therefore the hiſtory doth make no mention by what occaſion Preſbyters were inſtituted in Jeruſalem, only we read of things which they did, and how the like were made afterwards elſewhere. To theſe two degrees appointed of our Lord and Saviour Chriſt, his Apoſtles ſoon after annexed Deacons. Deacons therefore muſt know, ſaith Cyprian, that our Lord himſelf did elect Apoſtles; but Deacons, after his aſcenſion into heaven, the Apoſtles ordained. Deacons were ſtewards of the Church, unto whom at the firſt was committed the diſtribution of Church-goods, the care of providing therewith for the poor, and the charge to ſee that all things of expence might be religiouſly and faithfully dealt in. A part alſo of their office was attendance upon their Preſbyters at the time of divine ſervice. For which cauſe Ignatius, to ſet forth the dignity of their calling, ſaith, that they are in ſuch eaſe to the Biſhop, as if angelical powers did ſerve him. Theſe only being the uſes for which Deacons were firſt made, if the Church have ſithence extended their miniſtry further than the circuit of their labour at the firſt was drawn, we are not herein to think the ordinance of Scripture violated, except there appear ſome prohibition which hath abridged the Church of that liberty. Which I note chiefly in regard of them to whom it ſeemeth a thing

Acts ii. 41, 47.

Cypr. Ep. ix. l. 3. ad Rogatianum.

Ignat. Epiſt. ad Tral.

BOOK V. ſo monſtrous that Deacons ſhould ſometime be licenſed to preach, whoſe inſtitution was at the firſt to another end. To charge them for this as men not contented with their own vocations, and as breakers into that which appertaineth unto others, is very hard. For when they are thereunto once admitted, it is part of their own vocation, it appertaineth now unto them as well as others; neither is it intruſion for them to do it, being in ſuch ſort called, but rather in us it were temerity to blame them for doing it. Suppoſe we the office of teaching to be ſo repugnant unto the office of Deaconſhip, that they cannot concur in one and the ſame perſon? What was there done in the Church by Deacons, which the Apoſtles did not firſt diſcharge being teachers? Yea, but the Apoſtles found the burden of teaching ſo heavy, that they judged it meet to cut off that other charge, and to have Deacons which might undertake it. Be it ſo. The multitude of Chriſtians increaſing in Jeruſalem, and waxing great, it was too much for the Apoſtles to teach, and to miniſter unto tables alſo. The former was not to be ſlacked, that this latter might be followed. Therefore unto this they appointed others. Whereupon we may rightly ground this axiom, that when the ſubject wherein one man's labours of ſundry kinds are employed doth wax ſo great, that the ſame men are no longer able to manage it ſufficiently as before, the moſt natural way to help this is, by dividing their charge into ſlips, and ordaining of under-officers; as our Saviour under twelve Apoſtles, ſeventy Preſbyters; and the Apoſtles by his example ſeven Deacons to be under both. Neither ought it to ſeem leſs reaſonable, that when the ſame men are ſufficient both to continue in that which they do, and alſo to undertake ſomewhat more, a combination be admitted in this caſe, as well as diviſion in the former. We may not therefore diſallow it in the Church of Geneva, that Calvin and Beza were made both paſtors and readers in divinity, being men ſo able to diſcharge both. To

ſay

ſay they did not content themſelves with their paſtoral vocations, but brake into that which belongeth to others; to allege againſt them, *He that exhorteth on exhortation*, as againſt us, *He that diſtributeth in ſimplicity*, is alleged in great diſlike of granting licence for Deacons to preach, were very hard. The ancient cuſtom of the Church was to yield the poor much relief, eſpecially widows. But as poor people are always querulous, and apt to think themſelves leſs reſpected than they ſhould be, we ſee that when the Apoſtles did what they could without hindrance to their weightier buſineſs, yet there were which grudged that others had too much and they too little, the Grecian widows ſhorter commons than the Hebrews. By means whereof the Apoſtles ſaw it meet to ordain Deacons. Now tract of time having clean worn out thoſe firſt occaſions, for which the Deaconſhip was then moſt neceſſary, it might the better be afterwards extended to other ſervices, and ſo remain, as at this preſent day, a degree in the Clergy of God which the Apoſtles of Chriſt did inſtitute. That the firſt ſeven Deacons were choſen out of the ſeventy Diſciples, is an error in Epiphanius. For to draw men from places of weightier, unto rooms of meaner labour, had not been fit. The Apoſtles, to the end they might follow teaching with more freedom, committed the miniſtry of tables unto Deacons. And ſhall we think they judged it expedient to chooſe ſo many out of thoſe ſeventy to be miniſters unto tables, when Chriſt himſelf had before made them teachers? It appeareth therefore how long theſe three degrees of Eccleſiaſtical Order have continued in the Church of Chriſt; the higheſt and largeſt, that which the Apoſtles, the next that which Preſbyters, and the loweſt that which Deacons had. Touching Prophets, they were ſuch men as having otherwiſe learned the Goſpel, had from above beſtowed upon them a ſpecial gift of expounding Scriptures, and of foreſhewing things to come. Of this ſort Agabus was, and beſides him in Jeruſalem

Rom. xii. 8.

Epiph. l. i. c. 21.

Acts xxi. 10.

BOOK V. Jeruſalem ſundry others, who notwithſtanding are not therefore to be reckoned with the Clergy, becauſe no man's gifts or qualities can make him a miniſter of holy things, unleſs Ordination do give him power. And we no where find Prophets to have been made by Ordination; but all whom the Church did ordain were either to ſerve as Preſbyters or as Deacons. Evangeliſts were Preſbyters of principal ſufficiency, whom the Apoſtles ſent abroad, and uſed as agents in Eccleſiaſtical affairs whereſoever they ſaw need. They whom we find to have been named in Scripture Evangeliſts, Ananias, Apollos, Timothy, and others were thus employed. And concerning Evangeliſts, afterwards in Trajan's days, the Hiſtory Eccleſiaſtical noteth that many of the Apoſtles' diſciples and ſcholars which were then alive, and did with ſingular love of wiſdom affect the heavenly Word of God, to ſhew their willing minds in executing that which Chriſt firſt of all requireth at the hands of men, they ſold their poſſeſſions, gave them to the poor, and, betaking themſelves to travel, undertook the labour of Evangeliſts, that is, they painfully preached Chriſt, and delivered the Goſpel to them who as yet had never heard the doctrine of Faith. Finally, whom the Apoſtle nameth Paſtors and Teachers, what other were they than Preſbyters alſo, howbeit ſettled in ſome charge, and thereby differing from Evangeliſts? I beſeech them therefore which have hitherto troubled the Church with queſtions about degrees and offices of Eccleſiaſtical calling, becauſe they principally ground themſelves upon two places, that, all partiality laid aſide, they would ſincerely weigh and examine whether they have not miſinterpreted both places, and all by ſurmiſing incompatible offices, where nothing is meant but ſundry graces, gifts, and abilities which Chriſt beſtowed. To them of Corinth, his words are theſe: *God placed in the Church, firſt of all, ſome Apoſtles; ſecondly, Prophets; thirdly, Teachers; after them powers, then gifts of cures, aids, governments, kinds*

Acts xi. 27, 28.

Acts ix. 17.
Acts xviii. 24.
2 Tim. iv. 5, 9.
1 Tim. ii. 8. iii. 14.
Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. l. iii. c. 34.

1 Cor. xii. 28, 31.

kinds of languages. Are all Apoſtles? Are all Prophets? Are all Teachers? Is there power in all? Have all grace to cure? Do all ſpeak with tongues? Can all interpret? But be you deſirous of the better graces. They which plainly diſcern firſt, that ſome one general thing there is which the Apoſtle doth here divide into all theſe branches, and do ſecondly conceive that general to be Church-offices, beſides a number of other difficulties, can by no means poſſibly deny but that many of theſe might concur in one man, and peradventure in ſome one all; which mixture, notwithſtanding, their form of diſcipline doth moſt ſhun. On the other ſide, admit that communicants of ſpecial infuſed grace, for the benefit of members knit into one body, the Church of Chriſt, are here ſpoken of, which was in truth the plain drift of that whole diſcourſe; and ſee if every thing do not anſwer in due place with that fitneſs which ſheweth eaſily what is likelieſt to have been meant. For why are Apoſtles the firſt, but becauſe unto them was granted the revelation of all truth from Chriſt immediately? Why Prophets the ſecond, but becauſe they had of ſome things knowledge in the ſame manner? Teachers the next, becauſe whatſoever was known to them it came by hearing, yet God withal made them able to inſtruct, which every one could not do that was taught? After gifts of edification there follow general abilities to work things above nature, grace to cure men of bodily diſeaſes, ſupplies againſt occurrent defects and impediments, dexterities to govern and direct by counſel; finally, aptneſs to ſpeak or interpret foreign tongues. Which graces, not poured out equally, but diverſely forted and given, were a cauſe why not only they all did furniſh up the whole body, but each benefit and help other. Again, the ſame Apoſtle, otherwhere in like ſort, *To every one of us is given grace, according to the meaſure of the gift of Chriſt. Wherefore he ſaith, When he aſcended up on high, he led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men.—He therefore gave* Epheſ. iv. 7—12. Pſal. lxviii. 18.

ſome

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afterwards, inſtead of Apoſtles, Biſhops, concerning whoſe order we are to ſpeak in the ſeventh book. There is an error which beguileth many who do much entangle both themſelves and others by not diſtinguiſhing Services, Offices, and Orders Eccleſiaſtical. The firſt of which three, and in part the ſecond may be executed by the Laity; whereas none have, or can have the third but the Clergy. Catechiſts, Exorciſts, Readers, Singers, and the reſt of like ſort, if the nature only of their labour and pains be conſidered, may in that reſpect ſeem Clergymen, even as the Fathers for that cauſe term them uſually Clerks; as alſo in regard of the end whereunto they were trained up, which was to be ordered when years and experience ſhould make them able. Notwithſtanding, in as much as they no way differed from others of the Laity longer than during that work of ſervice, which at any time they might give over, being thereunto but admitted, not tied by irrevocable Ordination, we find them always exactly ſevered from that body, whereof thoſe three before rehearſed Orders alone are natural parts. Touching widows, of whom ſome men are perſuaded, that if ſuch as St. Paul deſcribeth may be gotten, we ought to retain them in the Church for ever; certain mean ſervices there were of attendance, as about women at the time of their Baptiſm, about the bodies of the ſick and dead, about the neceſſities of travellers, wayfaring men, and ſuch like, wherein the Church did commonly uſe them when need required, becauſe they lived of the alms of the Church, and were fitteſt for ſuch purpoſes: St. Paul doth therefore, to avoid ſcandal, require that none but women well experienced and virtuouſly given, neither any under threeſcore years of age ſhould be admitted of that number. Widows were never in the Church ſo highly eſteemed as virgins. But ſeeing neither of them did or could receive Ordination, to make them Eccleſiaſtical perſons were abſurd. The ancienteſt therefore

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T. C. l. i. p. 191. 1 Tim. v. 9.

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of the Fathers mention thoſe three degrees of Eccleſiaſtical Order ſpecified, and no more. *When your captains*, (ſaith Tertullian,) *that is to ſay, the Deacons, Preſbyters, and Biſhops fly, who ſhall teach the Laity that they muſt be conſtant?* Again, *What ſhould I mention Laymen*, (ſaith Optatus,) *yea, or divers of the miniſtry itſelf? To what purpoſe Deacons, which are in the third, or Preſbyters in the ſecond degree of Prieſthood, when the very heads and princes of all, even certain of the Biſhops themſelves, were content to redeem life with the loſs of heaven?* Heaps of allegation in a caſe ſo evident and plain are needleſs. I may ſecurely therefore conclude, that there are at this day in the Church of England no other than the ſame degrees of Eccleſiaſtical Orders, namely, Biſhops, Preſbyters, and Deacons, which had their beginning from Chriſt and his bleſſed Apoſtles themſelves. As for Deans, Prebendaries, Parſons, Vicars, Curates, Archdeacons, Chancellors, Officials, Commiſſaries, and ſuch other like names, which being not found in holy Scripture, we have been thereby through ſome men's error thought to allow of Eccleſiaſtical degrees not known, nor ever heard of in the better ages of former times; all theſe are in truth but titles of office, whereunto partly Eccleſiaſtical perſons, and partly others, are in ſundry forms and conditions admitted, as the ſtate of the Church doth need, degrees of Order ſtill continuing the ſame they were from the firſt beginning. Now what habit or attire doth beſeem each Order to uſe in the courſe of common life, both for the gravity of his place and for example ſake to other men, is a matter frivolous to be diſputed of. A ſmall meaſure of wiſdom may ſerve to teach them how they ſhould cut their coats. But ſeeing all well-ordered polities have ever judged it meet and fit by certain ſpecial diſtinct ornaments to ſever each ſort of men from other when they are in public, to the end that all may receive ſuch compliments of civil honour as are due to their rooms

Tertul. de Fuga in Perſecut. cap. xi. Optat. l. i. de Schiſm. Donatiſt. pag. 15. ed. Par.

rooms and callings, even when their perſons are not known, it argueth a diſproportioned mind in them whom ſo decent orders diſpleaſe.

Of oblations, foundations, endowments, tithes, all intended for perpetuity of Religion; which purpoſe being chiefly fulfilled by the Clergy's certain and ſufficient maintenance, muſt needs by alienation of Church-livings be made fruſtrate.

79. We might ſomewhat marvel what the Apoſtle St. Paul ſhould mean to ſay that *Covetouſneſs is idolatry*, if the daily practice of men did not ſhew, that whereas Nature requireth God to be honoured with wealth, we honour for the moſt part wealth as God. Fain we would teach ourſelves to believe, that for worldly goods it ſufficeth frugally and honeſtly to uſe them to our own benefit, without detriment and hurt to others; or if we go a degree farther, and perhaps convert ſome ſmall contemptible portion thereof to charitable uſes, the whole duty which we owe unto God herein is fully ſatisfied. But for as much as we cannot highly honour God, unleſs both our ſouls and bodies be ſometime employed merely in his ſervice; again, ſith we know that Religion requireth at our hands the taking away of ſo great a part of the time of our lives quite and clean from our own buſineſs, and the beſtowing of the ſame in his; ſuppoſe we that nothing of our wealth and ſubſtance is immediately due to God, but all our own to beſtow and ſpend as ourſelves think meet? Are not our riches as well his, as the days of our life are his? Wherefore, unleſs with part we acknowledge his ſupreme dominion by whoſe benevolence we have the whole, how give we honour to whom honour belongeth, or how hath God the things that are God's? I would know what nation in the world did ever honour God, and not think it a point of their duty to do him honour with their very goods. So that this we may boldly ſet down as a principle clear in Nature, an axiom that ought not to be called in queſtion, a truth manifeſt and infallible, that men are eternally bound to honour God with their ſubſtance, in token of thankful acknowledgment that all they have is from him. To honour him with our worldly goods, not only by ſpending them in lawful manner, and by uſing them without

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[a] Purum, probum, profanum, ſuum. Feſt. lib. xiv.

it

it is our good to be ſo exerciſed, and with no other intent accepteth them, but to have them uſed for the endleſs continuance of Religion; there is no place left of doubt or controverſy, but that we in the choice of our gifts are to level at the ſame mark, and to frame ourſelves to his own intents and purpoſes. Whether we give unto God therefore that which himſelf by commandment requireth, or that which the public conſent of the Church thinketh good to allot, or that which every man's private devotion doth beſt like, in as much as the gift which we offer proceedeth not only as a teſtimony of our affection towards God, but alſo as a means to uphold Religion, the exerciſe whereof cannot ſtand without the help of temporal commodities; if all men be taught of Nature to wiſh, and as much as in them lieth to procure the perpetuity of good things; if for that very cauſe we honour and admire their wiſdom, who, having been founders of commonweals, could deviſe how to make the benefit they left behind them durable; if, eſpecially in this reſpect, we prefer Lycurgus before Solon, and the Spartan before the Athenian Polity, it muſt needs follow, that as we do unto God very acceptable ſervice in honouring him with our ſubſtance, ſo our ſervice that way is then moſt acceptable when it tendeth to perpetuity. The firſt permanent donations of honour in this kind are temples. Which works do ſo much ſet forward the exerciſe of Religion, that while the world was in love with Religion, it gave to no ſort greater reverence than to whom it could point and ſay, *Theſe are the men that have built us ſynagogues.* But of churches we have ſpoken ſufficiently heretofore. The next things to churches are the ornaments of churches, memorials which men's devotion hath added to remain in the treaſure of God's Houſe, not only for uſes wherein the exerciſe of Religion preſently needeth them, but alſo partly for ſupply of future caſual neceſſities, whereunto the Church is on earth ſubject, and partly to the

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end that while they are kept they may continually ſerve as teſtimonies, giving all men to underſtand that God hath in every age and nation ſuch as think it no burden to honour him with their ſubſtance. The riches firſt of the tabernacle of God, and then of the temple of Jeruſalem, ariſing out of voluntary gifts and donations, were, as we commonly ſpeak, a *Nemo ſcit*, the value of them above that which any man would imagine. After that the tabernacle was made, furniſhed with all neceſſaries, and ſet up, although in the wilderneſs their ability could not poſſibly be great, the very metal of thoſe veſſels, which the princes of the twelve tribes gave to God for their firſt preſents, amounted even then to two thouſand and four hundred ſhekels of ſilver, an hundred and twenty ſhekels of gold, every ſhekel weighing half an ounce. What was given to the temple which Solomon erected we may partly conjecture, when over and beſides wood, marble, iron, braſs, veſtments, precious ſtones, and money, the ſum which David delivered into Solomon's hands for that purpoſe, was of gold in maſs eight thouſand, and of ſilver ſeventeen thouſand cichars, every cichar containing a thouſand and eight hundred ſhekels, which riſeth to nine hundred ounces in every one cichar, whereas the whole charge of the tabernacle did not amount unto thirty cichars. After their return out of Babylon, they were not preſently in caſe to make their ſecond temple of equal magnificence and glory, with that which the enemy had deſtroyed. Notwithſtanding what they could they did. Inſomuch that the buildings finiſhed, there remained in the coffers of the Church, to uphold the fabric thereof, ſix hundred and fifty cichars of ſilver, one hundred of gold. Whereunto was added by Nehemias of his own gift a thouſand drams of gold, fifty veſſels of ſilver, five hundred and thirty prieſts veſtments; by other the princes of the Fathers twenty thouſand drams of gold, two thouſand and two hundred pound of ſilver; by the reſt of the people twenty thouſand

Num. vii. 85, 86.

1 Chron. xxix. Exod. xxv. 28. and xxxvii. 24.

Ezra ii. 68, 69. Hag. ii. 3. Ezra viii. 26.

Nehem. vii. 70, 71, 72.

thouſand drams of gold, two thouſand pound of ſilver, threeſcore and ſeven attires of prieſts. And they furthermore bound themſelves towards other charges to give by the poll, in what part of the world ſoever they ſhould dwell, the third of a ſhekel, that is to ſay, the ſixth part of an ounce yearly. [a] This out of foreign provinces they always ſent in gold. Whereof Mithridates is ſaid to have taken up by the way before it could paſs to Jeruſalem from Aſia, in one adventure, eight hundred talents[b]; Craſſus after that, to have borrowed of the temple itſelf eight thouſand; at which time Eleazar having both many other rich ornaments, and all the tapeſtry of the temple under his cuſtody, thought it the ſafeſt way to grow unto ſome compoſition; and ſo to redeem the reſidue by parting with a certain beam of gold about ſeven hundred and an half weight, a prey ſufficient for one man, as he thought who had never bargained with Craſſus till then, and therefore, upon the confidence of a ſolemn oath that no more ſhould be looked for, he ſimply delivered up a large morſel, whereby the value of that which remained was betrayed, and the whole loſt. Such being the caſualties whereunto moveable treaſures are ſubject, the Law of Moſes did both require eight and forty cities, together with their fields and whole territories in the land of Jewry, to be reſerved for God himſelf, and not only provide for the liberty of farther additions, if men of their own accord ſhould think good, but alſo for the ſafe preſervation thereof unto all poſterities, that no man's avarice or fraud, by defeating ſo virtuous intents, might diſcourage from like purpoſes. God's third endowment did therefore of old conſiſt in lands. Furthermore, ſome cauſe no doubt there is why be-

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Nehem. x. 32.

Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 7.

Num. xxxv. Levit. xxv. 34. and xxvii. 28.

[a] Cic. Orat. pro L. Flac. Cum aurum Judæorum nomine quotannis ex Italia et ex omnibus veſtris provinciis Hieroſolymam exportari ſoleret, Flaccus ſanxit edicto, ne ex Aſia exportari liceret.

[b] Every talent in value ſix hundred crowns.

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ſides ſundry other more rare donations of uncertain rate, the tenth ſhould be thought a revenue ſo natural to be allotted out unto God. For of the ſpoils which Abraham had taken in war, he delivered unto Melchiſedeck the tithes. The vow of Jacob, at ſuch time as he took his journey towards Haran, was, *If God will be with me, and will keep me in this voyage which I am to go, and will give me bread to eat, and clothes to put on, ſo that I may return to my father's houſe in ſafety, then ſhall the Lord be my God; and this ſtone which I have ſet up as a pillar, the ſame ſhall be God's Houſe, and of all thou ſhalt give me I will give unto thee the tithe.* And as Abraham gave voluntarily, as Jacob vowed to give God tithes, ſo the Law of Moſes did require at the hands of all men the ſelf-ſame kind of tribute, the tenth of their corn, wine, oil, fruit, cattle, and whatſoever increaſe his heavenly providence ſhould ſend. Inſomuch, that Painims being herein followers of their ſteps, paid tithes likewiſe. Imagine we that this was for no cauſe done, or that there was not ſome ſpecial inducement to judge the tenth of our worldly profits the moſt convenient for God's portion? Are not all things by him created in ſuch ſort, that the forms which give them their diſtinction are number, their operations meaſure, and their matter weight? Three being the myſtical number of God's unſearchable perfection within himſelf; Seven the number whereby our own perfections, through grace, are moſt ordered; and [a] Ten the number of nature's perfections, (for the beauty of nature is order; and the foundation of order, number; and of number, Ten the higheſt we can riſe unto without iteration of numbers under it,) could nature better acknowledge the power of the God of nature, than by aſſigning unto him that quantity which is the continent of all ſhe poſſeſſeth?

Gen. xiv. 20.

Gen. xxviii. 20—22.

Deut. xiv. 22.

Plin. Hiſt. Nat. l. xii. c. 14.

[a] Δεκὰς ἀριθμῶν τῶν ἀπὸ μοναδος ἐστὶ πέρας τελειότατον. Philo. περὶ Ἀποικ.

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There are in Philo the Jew, many arguments to ſhew the great congruity and fitneſs of this number in things conſecrated unto God. But becauſe over-nice and curious ſpeculations become not the earneſtneſs of holy things, I omit what might be farther obſerved, as well out of others, as out of him, touching the quantity of this general ſacred tribute; whereby it cometh to paſs that the meaneſt and the very pooreſt amongſt men yielding unto God as much in proportion as the greateſt, and many times in affection more, have this as a ſenſible token always aſſuring their minds, that in his ſight, from whom all good is expected, they are concerning acceptation, protection, divine privileges, and preeminences whatſoever, equals and peers with them unto whom they are otherwiſe in earthly reſpects inferiors; being furthermore well aſſured that the top as it were thus preſented to God is neither loſt, nor unfruitfully beſtowed, but doth ſanctify to them again the whole maſs, and that he by receiving a little undertaketh to bleſs all. In which conſideration the Jews were accuſtomed to name their tithes, the [a] *hedge* of their riches. Albeit a hedge do only fence and preſerve that which is contained, whereas their tithes and offerings did more, becauſe they procured increaſe of the heap out of which they were taken. God demanded no ſuch debt for his own need, but for their only benefit that owe it. Wherefore detaining the ſame, they hurt not him whom they wrong, and themſelves, whom they think they relieve, they wound; except men will haply affirm, that God did, by fair ſpeeches and large promiſes, delude the world in ſaying, *Bring ye* Mal. iii. 10. *all the tithes into the ſtorehouſe, that there may be meat in mine houſe*, (deal truly, defraud not God of his due, but bring all,) *and prove if I will not open unto you the windows of heaven, and pour down upon you an immea-*

[a] Maſſoreth ſepes eſt legis; divitiarum ſepes decimæ. R. Aquiba in Pirk. Aboth.

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[a] Nemo libenter dedit quod non accepit ſed expreſſit. Sen. de Benef. l. i. c. 1.

Law

Law of Moſes determined their rates, and the payments to be always made by the ſhekel of the Sanctuary, wherein there was great advantage of weight above the ordinary current ſhekel. The trueſt and ſureſt way for God to have always his own, is by making him payment in kind, out of the very ſelf-ſame riches which through his gracious benediction the earth doth continually yield. This, where it may be without inconvenience, is for every man's conſcience ſake. That which cometh from God to us, by the natural courſe of his providence, which we know to be innocent and pure, is perhaps beſt accepted, becauſe leaſt ſpotted with the ſtain of unlawful or indirect procurement. Beſides, whereas prices daily change, Nature, which commonly is one, muſt needs be the moſt indifferent and permanent ſtandard between God and man. But the main foundation of all, whereupon the ſecurity of theſe things dependeth as far as any thing may be aſcertained amongſt men, is that the title and right which man had in every of them before donation doth by the act, and from the time of any ſuch donation, dedication, or grant, remain the proper poſſeſſion of God till the world's end, unleſs himſelf renounce or relinquiſh it. For if equity have taught us, that one ought to enjoy his own; that what is ours no other can alienate from us, but with our own [a] deliberate conſent; finally, that no man having paſſed his conſent or deed, may [b] change it to the prejudice of any other, ſhould we preſume to deal with God worſe than God hath allowed any man to deal with us? Albeit therefore we be now free from the Law of Moſes, and conſequently not thereby bound to the payment of tithes; yet becauſe Nature hath taught men to honour God

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Levit. xxvii. 25.

Lib. xi. de Reg. Jur.

[a] Cujus per errorem dati repetitio eſt, ejus conſulto dati donatio eſt. L. i. D. de cond. indeb. This is the ground of conſideration in alienations from man to man.

[b] Nemo poteſt mutare conſilium ſuum in alterius præjudicium. L. lxxv. de Reg. Jur.

with

BOOK V. with their ſubſtance, and Scripture hath left us an example of that particular proportion, which for moral conſiderations hath been thought fitteſt by him whoſe wiſdom could beſt judge; furthermore, ſeeing that the Church of Chriſt hath long ſithence entered into like obligation, it ſeemeth in theſe days a queſtion altogether vain and ſuperfluous, whether tithes be a matter of divine right: becauſe howſoever at the firſt it might have been thought doubtful, our caſe is clearly the ſame now with theirs unto whom St. Peter ſometime ſpake, ſaying, *While it was whole, it was whole thine.* When our tithes might have probably ſeemed our own, we had colour of liberty to uſe them as we ourſelves ſaw good. But having made them his whoſe they are, let us be warned by other men's example what it is νοσφίσασθαι, to waſh or clip that coin which hath on it the mark of God. For that all theſe are his poſſeſſions, and that he doth himſelf ſo reckon them, appeareth by the form of his own ſpeeches. Touching gifts and oblations, *Thou ſhalt give them me*; touching oratories and churches, *My Houſe ſhall be called the Houſe of Prayer*; touching tithes, *Will a man ſpoil God?* Yet behold, even me your God ye have [a] ſpoiled, notwithſtanding ye aſk wherein, as though ye were ignorant, what injury there hath been offered in tithes: ye are heavily accurſed, becauſe with a kind of public conſent ye have joined yourſelves in one to rob me, imagining the commonneſs of your offence to be every man's particular juſtification; touching lands, *Ye ſhall offer to the Lord a ſacred portion of ground, and that ſacred portion ſhall belong to the prieſts.* Neither did God only thus ordain amongſt the Jews; but the very purpoſe, intent, and meaning of all that have honoured him with their ſubſtance, was to inveſt him with the property of thoſe benefits, the uſe whereof muſt needs be

Acts v. 4.

Exod. xxii. 29, 30. Mat. xxi. 13. Mal. iii. 8.

Ezek. xlv. 1, 4.

[a] Non videntur rem amittere quibus propria non fuit. L. lxxxiii. de Reg. Jur.

committed

committed to the hands of men. In which reſpect the ſtyle of ancient grants and charters is, *We have given unto God both for us, and our heirs for ever.* Yea, *We know*, ſaith Charles the Great, that *the goods of the Church are the ſacred endowments of God, to the Lord our God we offer and dedicate whatſoever we deliver unto his Church.* Whereupon the Laws Imperial do likewiſe divide all things in ſuch ſort, that they make ſome to belong by right of nature indifferently unto every man, ſome to be the certain goods and poſſeſſions of commonweals, ſome to appertain unto ſeveral corporations and companies of men, ſome to be privately men's own in particular, and ſome to be ſeparated quite [a] from all men; which laſt branch compriſeth things ſacred and holy, becauſe thereof God alone is owner. The ſequel of which received opinion, as well without as within the walls of the Houſe of God touching ſuch poſſeſſions, is, as hath been ever, that there is not an act more honourable than by all means to amplify and to defend the patrimony of Religion, not any more [b] impious and hateful than to impair thoſe poſſeſſions which men in former times, when they gave unto holy uſes, were wont at the altar of God, and in the preſence of their ghoſtly ſuperiors, to make as they thought inviolable by words of fearful execration, ſaying, *Theſe things we offer to God, from whom if any take them away, (which we hope no man will attempt to do,) but if any ſhall, let his account be without favour in the laſt day, when he cometh to receive the doom which is due for ſacrilege againſt that Lord and God unto whom we dedicate the ſame.* The beſt and moſt renowned Prelates of the Church of Chriſt have in this conſideration rather ſuſtained the wrath, than yielded to ſatisfy the hard deſire of their greateſt

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Mag. Char. c. i.

Capit. Carol. l. vi. c. 284.

[a] Nullius autem ſunt res ſacræ et religioſæ et ſanctæ. Quod enim divini juris eſt, id nullius in bonis eſt. Inſt. l. ii. tit. i.

[b] Soli cum Diis ſacrilegi pugnant. Curt. l. vii. Sacrum ſacrove commendatum qui demſerit rapſeritve, parricida eſto. Leg. xii. tab. Capit. Carol. l. vi. c. 285.

commanders

BOOK V. commanders on earth coveting with ill advice and counſel that which they willingly ſhould have ſuffered God to enjoy. There are of Martyrs, whom poſterity doth much honour, for that having under their hands the cuſtody of ſuch [a] treaſures, they could by virtuous deluſion invent how to ſave them from prey, even when the ſafety of their own lives they gladly neglected; as one, ſometime an Archdeacon under Xiſtus the Biſhop of Rome, did, whom when his Judge underſtood to be one of the Church-ſtewards, thirſt of blood began to ſlake, and another humour to work, which firſt by a favourable countenance, and then by quiet ſpeech did thus calmly diſcloſe itſelf: *You that profeſs the Chriſtian Religion make great complaint of the wonderful cruelty we ſhew towards you: neither peradventure altogether without cauſe. But for myſelf, I am far from any ſuch bloody purpoſe. Ye are not ſo willing to live, as I unwilling that out of theſe lips ſhould proceed any capital ſentence againſt you. Your Biſhops are ſaid to have rich veſſels of gold and ſilver, which they uſe in the exerciſe of their religion; beſides the fame is, that numbers ſell away their lands and livings, the huge prices whereof are brought to your Church-coffers; by which means the devotion, that maketh them and their whole poſterity poor, muſt needs mightily enrich you, whoſe God we know was no coiner of money, but left behind him many wholeſome and good precepts, as namely, that Cæſar ſhould have of you the things that are fit for and due to Cæſar. His wars are coſtly and chargeable unto him. That which you ſuffer to ruſt in corners, the affairs of the commonwealth do need. Your profeſſion is not to make account of things tranſitory. And yet if ye can be contented but to forego that which ye care not for, I dare undertake to warrant you both ſafety of life, and freedom of uſing your conſcience, a thing more acceptable to you than wealth.* Which fair parley the happy Martyr quietly hearing, and perceiving it neceſſary to make

[a] Depoſita pietatis. Tertul. Apologet. Prudent. Periſteph.

ſome

ſome ſhift for the ſafe concealment of that, which being now deſired, was not unlikely to be more narrowly afterwards ſought, he craved reſpite for three days to gather the riches of the Church together, in which ſpace againſt the time the Governor ſhould come to the doors of the temple, big with hope to receive his prey, a miſerable rank of poor, lame, and impotent perſons was provided, their names delivered him up in writing as a true inventory of the Church's goods, and ſome few words uſed to ſignify how proud the Church was of theſe treaſures. If men did not naturally abhor ſacrilege, to reſiſt and defeat ſo impious attempts would deſerve ſmall praiſe. But ſuch is the general deteſtation of rapine in this kind, that whereas nothing doth either in peace or war more uphold men's reputation than proſperous ſucceſs, becauſe in common conſtruction, unleſs notorious improbity be joined with proſperity, it ſeemeth to argue favour with God; they which once have ſtained their hands with theſe odious ſpoils do thereby faſten unto all their actions an eternal prejudice, in reſpect whereof, for that it paſſeth through the world as an undoubted rule and principle that ſacrilege is open defiance to God, whatſoever afterwards they undertake, if they proſper in it, men reckon it but Dionyſius his navigation; and if any thing befall them otherwiſe, it is not, as commonly, ſo in them aſcribed to the great uncertainty of caſual events, wherein the providence of God doth control the purpoſes of men oftentimes much more for their good, than if all things did anſwer fully their hearts' deſire, but the cenſure of the world is ever directly againſt them both [a] bitter and peremptory. To make ſuch actions BOOK V

[a] Novimus multa regna, et reges eorum, propterea cecidiſſe, quia Eccleſias ſpoliaverunt, reſque earum vaſtaverunt, alienaverunt vel diripuerunt, Epiſcopiſque et Sacerdotibus, atque, quod magis eſt, Eccleſiis eorum abſtulerunt, et pugnantibus dederunt. Quapropter nec fortes in bello nec in fide ſtabiles fuerunt, nec victores extiterunt; ſed terga multi vulnerati, et plures interfecti verterunt, regnaque

BOOK V. therefore leſs odious, and to mitigate the envy of them, many colourable ſhifts and inventions have been uſed, as if the world did hate only wolves, and think the fox a goodly creature. The[a] time it may be will come, when they that either violently have ſpoiled, or thus ſmoothly defrauded God, ſhall find they did but deceive themſelves. In the mean while there will be always ſome ſkilful perſons, which can teach a way how to grind treatably the Church with jaws that ſhall ſcarce move, and yet devour in the end more than they that come ravening with open mouth, as if they would worry the whole in an inſtant; others alſo, who having waſtefully eaten out their own patrimony would be glad to repair, if they might, their decayed eſtates with the ruin they care not of what nor of whom, ſo the ſpoil was theirs; whereof in ſome part if they happen to ſpeed, yet commonly they are men born under that conſtellation which maketh them, I know not how, as unapt to enrich themſelves as they are ready to impoveriſh others; it is their lot to ſuſtain during life both the miſery of beggars and the infamy of robbers. But though no other plague and revenge ſhould follow ſacrilegious violations of holy things, the natural ſecret diſgrace and ignominy, the very turpitude of ſuch actions in the eye of a wiſe underſtanding heart[b], is itſelf a heavy puniſhment. Men of virtuous quality are by this ſufficiently moved to beware how they anſwer and requite the mercies of

regnaque et regiones, et, quod pejus eſt, regna cœleſtia perdiderunt, atque propriis hæreditatibus caruerunt, et hactenus carent. Verba Carol. Mag. in Capitu. Carol. l. vii. cap. 104.

[a] Turno tempus erit, magno cum optaverit emptum
Intactum Pallanta, et cum ſpolia iſta diemque
Oderit. Virg. Æn. lib. x. 503.

[b] Ἡ τῶ πραγμάτων αἰσχύνη ἐδιμίας ἰλάττων ζημία τοῖς γε σώφροσι. Demoſth. Pœnam illam dico legum quas ſæpe perrumpunt, ſed ipſius turpitudinis quæ acerbiſſima eſt non vident. Cic. Offic. l. iii. Impunita tu credes eſſe quæ inviſa ſunt? aut illum ſupplicium gravius exiſtimas publico odio? Sen. de Benef. l. iii. c. 17.

God

God with injuries, whether openly or indirectly of- BOOK
fered. I will not abſolutely ſay concerning the goods V.
of the Church, that they may in no caſe be ſeized on by men, or that no obligation, commerce, and bargain made between man and man, can ever be of force to alienate the property which God hath in them. Certain caſes I grant there are, wherein it is not ſo dark what God himſelf doth warrant, but that we may ſafely preſume him as willing to forego for our benefit, as always to uſe and convert to our benefit whatſoever our Religion hath honoured him withal. But ſurely under the name of that which may be, many things that ſhould not be are often done. By means whereof the Church moſt commonly for gold hath flannel; and whereas the uſual ſaw of old was *Glaucus his change*, the proverb is now, *A Church bargain*. And for fear leſt covetouſneſs alone ſhould linger out the time too much, and not be able to make havock of the Houſe of God, with that expedition which the mortal enemy thereof did vehemently wiſh, he hath by certain ſtrong enchantments ſo deeply bewitched Religion itſelf, as to make it in the end an earneſt ſolicitor, and an eloquent perſuader of ſacrilege, urging confidently that the very beſt ſervice which men of power can do to Chriſt, is without any more ceremony to ſweep all, and to leave the Church as bare as in the day it was firſt born; that fulneſs of bread having made the children of the houſehold wanton, it is without any ſcruple to be taken away from them, and thrown to dogs; that they which laid the prices of their lands as offerings at the Apoſtles' feet did but ſow the ſeeds of ſuperſtition; that they which endowed Churches with lands poiſoned Religion; that tithes and oblations are now in the ſight of God as the ſacrificed blood of goats; that if we give him our hearts and affections, our goods are better beſtowed otherwiſe; that Irenæus, Polycarp's diſciple, Iren. lib. iv.
ſhould not have ſaid, *We offer unto God our goods as* c. 34.

tokens

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tokens of thankfulneſs for that we receive; neither Origen, *He which worſhippeth God, muſt by gifts and oblations acknowledge him the Lord of all*; in a word, that to give unto God is error; reformation of error, to take from the Church that which the blindneſs of former ages did unwiſely give: by theſe or the like ſuggeſtions, received with all joy, and with like ſedulity practiſed in certain parts of the Chriſtian world, they have brought to paſs that as David doth ſay of man, ſo it is in hazard to be verified concerning the whole religion and ſervice of God; *The time thereof may peradventure fall out to be threeſcore and ten years; or if ſtrength do ſerve unto fourſcore, what followeth is likely to be ſmall joy for them whoſoever they be that behold it.* Thus have the beſt things been overthrown, not ſo much by puiſſance and might of adverſaries, as through defect of counſel in them that ſhould have upheld and defended the ſame.

Orig. in 18. Num. hom. xi.

Pſalm xc. 10.

Of Ordinations lawful without title, and without any popular election precedent, but in no caſe without regard of due information what their quality is, that enter into holy Orders.

80. There are in a miniſter of God theſe four things to be conſidered, his ordination which giveth him power to meddle with things ſacred; the charge or portion of the Church allotted unto him for exerciſe of his office; the performance of his duty, according to the exigence of his charge; and, laſtly, the maintenance which in that reſpect he receiveth. All Eccleſiaſtical Laws and Canons which either concern the beſtowing or the uſing of the power of miniſterial order have relation to theſe four. Of the firſt we have ſpoken before at large. Concerning the next, for more convenient diſcharge of Eccleſiaſtical duties, as the body of the people muſt needs be ſevered by divers precincts, ſo the Clergy likewiſe accordingly diſtributed. Whereas therefore Religion did firſt take place in cities, and in that reſpect was a cauſe why the name of Pagans, which properly ſignifieth a country people, came to be uſed in common ſpeech for the ſame that Infidels and unbelievers were; it followed thereupon that all

all ſuch cities had their Eccleſiaſtical Colleges, conſiſting of Deacons and of Preſbyters, whom firſt the Apoſtles or their delegates the Evangeliſts did both ordain and govern. Such were the Colleges of Jeruſalem, Antioch, Epheſus, Rome, Corinth, and the reſt where the Apoſtles are known to have planted our Faith and Religion. Now becauſe religion and the cure of ſouls was their general charge in common over all that were near about them, neither had any one Preſbyter his ſeveral cure apart, till Evariſtus, Biſhop in the See of Rome, about the year 112, began to aſſign precincts unto every Church or title which the Chriſtians held, and to appoint unto each Preſbyter a certain compaſs whereof himſelf ſhould take charge alone, the commodiouſneſs of this invention cauſed all parts of Chriſtendom to follow it, and at the length among the reſt our own Churches about the year 636 became divided in like manner. But other diſtinction of Churches there doth not appear any in the Apoſtles' writings, ſave only, according to thoſe cities wherein they planted the Goſpel of Chriſt, and erected Eccleſiaſtical Colleges. Wherefore to ordain κατὰ πόλιν throughout every city, and κατὰ ἐκκλησίαν throughout every church, do in them ſignify the ſame thing. Churches then neither were, nor could be, in ſo convenient ſort limited as now they are; firſt, by the bounds of each ſtate, and then within each ſtate by more particular precincts, till at the length we deſcend unto ſeveral congregations, termed pariſhes, with far narrower reſtraint than this name at the firſt was uſed. And from hence hath grown their error, who, as oft as they read of the duty which Eccleſiaſtical perſons are now to perform towards the Church, their manner is always to underſtand by that Church, ſome particular Congregation or Pariſh Church. They ſuppoſe that there ſhould now be no man of Eccleſiaſtical order which is not tied to ſome certain pariſh. Becauſe the names of all Church-officers

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Acts xv. 36. Apoc. i. 20.

Tit. i. 5. Acts xiv. 23.

BOOK V. officers are words of relation, becauſe a ſhepherd muſt have his flock, a teacher his ſcholars, a miniſter his company which he miniſtereth unto, therefore it ſeemeth a thing in their eyes abſurd and unreaſonable that any man ſhould be ordained a miniſter, otherwiſe than only for ſome particular congregation. Perceive they not how by this means they make it unlawful for the Church to employ men at all in converting nations? For if ſo be the Church may not lawfully admit to an Eccleſiaſtical function, unleſs it tie the party admitted unto ſome particular pariſh, then ſurely a thankleſs labour it is whereby men ſeek the converſion of Infidels which know not Chriſt, and therefore cannot be as yet divided into their ſpecial congregations and flocks. But, to the end it may appear how much this one thing among many more hath been miſtaken, there is no precept requiring that Preſbyters and Deacons be made in ſuch ſort and not otherwiſe. Albeit therefore the Apoſtles did make them in that order, yet is not their example ſuch a law, as without all exception bindeth to make them in no other order but that. Again, if we will conſider that which the Apoſtles themſelves did, ſurely no man can juſtly ſay, that herein we practiſe any thing repugnant to their example. For by them there was ordained only in each Chriſtian city a College of Preſbyters and Deacons to adminiſter holy things. Evariſtus did a hundred years after the birth of our Saviour Chriſt begin the diſtinction of the Church into pariſhes. Preſbyters and Deacons having been ordained before to exerciſe Eccleſiaſtical functions in the Church of Rome promiſcuouſly, he was the firſt that tied them each one to his own ſtation. So that of the two, indefinite ordination of Preſbyters and Deacons doth come more near the Apoſtles' example, and the tying of them to be made only for particular congregations may more juſtly ground itſelf upon the example of Evariſtus than of any Apoſtle of Chriſt.

Chriſt. It hath been the opinion of wiſe and good men heretofore, that nothing was ever deviſed more ſingularly beneficial unto God's Church than this which our honourable predeceſſors have to their endleſs praiſe found out by the erecting ſuch houſes of ſtudy, as thoſe two moſt famous Univerſities do contain, and by providing that choice wits, after reaſonable time ſpent in contemplation, may at the length either enter into that holy vocation for which they have been ſo long nouriſhed and brought up, or elſe give place and ſuffer others to ſucceed in their rooms, that ſo the Church may be always furniſhed with a number of men whoſe ability being firſt known by public trial in Church-labours there where men can beſt judge of them, their calling afterwards unto particular charge abroad may be accordingly. All this is fruſtrate, thoſe worthy foundations we muſt diſſolve, their whole device and religious purpoſe which did erect them is made void, their orders and ſtatutes are to be cancelled and diſannulled, in caſe the Church be forbidden to grant any power of order unleſs it be with reſtraint to the party ordained unto ſome particular pariſh or congregation. Nay, might we not rather affirm of Preſbyters and of Deacons, that the very nature of their ordination is unto neceſſary local reſtraint a thing oppoſite and repugnant? The Emperor Juſtinian doth ſay of tutors, *Certæ rei vel cauſæ tutor dari non poteſt, quia perſonæ, non cauſæ vel rei, tutor datur.* He that ſhould grant a tutorſhip, reſtraining his grant to ſome one certain thing or cauſe, ſhould do but idly, becauſe tutors are given for perſonal defence generally, and not for managing of a few particular things or cauſes. So he that ordaining a Preſbyter or a Deacon ſhould, in the form of ordination, reſtrain the one or the other to a certain place, might with much more reaſon be thought to uſe a vain and a frivolous addition, than they reaſonably to require ſuch local reſtraint as a thing which

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Juſt. lib. i. tit. 14. ſect. 4.

BOOK V. muſt of neceſſity concur evermore with all lawful ordination. Preſbyters and Deacons are not by ordination conſecrated unto places, but unto functions. In which reſpect, and in no other, it is that ſith they are by virtue thereof bequeathed unto God, ſevered and ſanctified to be employed in his ſervice, which is the higheſt advancement that mortal creatures on earth can be raiſed unto, the Church of Chriſt hath not been acquainted in former ages with any ſuch profane and unnatural cuſtom, as doth hallow men with Eccleſiaſtical functions of order only for a time, and then diſmiſs them again to the common affairs of the world. Whereas, contrariwiſe from the place or charge where that power hath been exerciſed, we may be by ſundry good and lawful occaſions tranſlated, retaining nevertheleſs the ſelf-ſame power which was firſt given. It is ſome grief to ſpend thus much labour in refuting a thing that hath ſo little ground to uphold it, eſpecially ſith they themſelves that teach it do not ſeem to give thereunto any great credit, if we may judge their minds by their actions. There are amongſt them that have done the work of Eccleſiaſtical perſons, ſometime in the families of noblemen, ſometime in much more public and frequent congregations; there are that have ſucceſſively gone through perhaps ſeven or eight particular Churches after this ſort; yea, ſome that at one and the ſame time have been, ſome which at this preſent hour are, in real obligation of Eccleſiaſtical duty, and poſſeſſion of commodity thereto belonging, even in ſundry particular Churches within the land; ſome there are amongſt them which will not ſo much abridge their liberty, as to be faſtened or tied unto any place; ſome which have bound themſelves to one place, only for a time, and that time being once expired, have afterwards voluntarily given unto other places the like experience and trial of them. All this I preſume they would not do, if their perſuaſion were

were as ſtrict as their words pretend. But for the avoiding of theſe and ſuch other the like confuſions as are incident unto the cauſe and queſtion whereof we preſently treat, there is not any thing more material, than firſt to ſeparate exactly the nature of the miniſtry from the uſe and exerciſe thereof; ſecondly, to know that the only true and proper act of ordination is to inveſt men with that power which doth make them miniſters, by conſecrating their perſons to God and his ſervice in holy things during term of life, whether they exerciſe that power or no; thirdly, that to give them a title or charge where to uſe their miniſtry, concerneth not the making, but the placing of God's miniſters; and therefore the laws which concern only their election or admiſſion unto place of charge, are not appliable to infringe any way their ordination; fourthly, that as oft as any ancient Conſtitution, Law, or Canon, is alleged concerning either ordinations or elections, we forget not to examine whether the preſent caſe be the ſame which the ancient was, or elſe do contain ſome juſt reaſon for which it cannot admit altogether the ſame rules which former affairs of the Church, now altered, did then require. In the queſtion of making miniſters without a title, which to do, they ſay is a thing unlawful, they ſhould at the very firſt have conſidered what the name of title doth imply, and what affinity or coherence ordinations have with titles, which thing obſerved would plainly have ſhewed them their own error. They are not ignorant, that when they ſpeak of a Title, they handle that which belongeth to the placing of a miniſter in ſome charge, that the place of charge wherein a miniſter doth execute his office requireth ſome houſe of God for the people to reſort unto, ſome definite number of ſouls unto whom he there adminiſtereth holy things, and ſome certain allowance whereby to ſuſtain life; that the Fathers at the firſt named oratories, and houſes of prayer, Titles; thereby ſignifying how

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BOOK V. God was intereſted in them, and held them as his own poſſeſſions. But becauſe they know that the Church had miniſters before Chriſtian temples and oratories were, therefore, ſome of them underſtand by a Title, a definite congregation of people only, and ſo deny that any ordination is lawful which maketh miniſters that have no certain flock to attend: forgetting how the Seventy, whom Chriſt himſelf did ordain miniſters, had their calling in that manner, whereas yet no certain charge could be given them. Others referring the name of a Title, eſpecially to the maintenance of the miniſter, infringe all ordination made [a], except they which receive orders be firſt entitled to a competent Eccleſiaſtical benefice, and (which is moſt ridiculouſly ſtrange) except beſides their preſent title to ſome ſuch benefice they have likewiſe ſome other title of annual rent or penſion whereby they may be relieved, in caſe, through infirmity, ſickneſs, or other lawful impediment, they grow unable to execute their Eccleſiaſtical function. So that every man lawfully ordained muſt bring a bow which hath two ſtrings, a title of preſent right, and another to provide for future poſſibility or chance. Into theſe abſurdities and follies they ſlide by miſconceiving the true purpoſe of certain Canons, which indeed have forbidden to ordain a miniſter without a title; not that ſimply it is unlawful ſo to ordain, but becauſe it might grow to an inconveniency if the Church did not ſomewhat reſtrain that liberty. For, ſeeing they which have once received ordination cannot again return into the world, it behoveth them which or-

[a] Unlawful to ordain a miniſter without a title. Abſtract. p. 243. et p. 246. The Law requireth, that every one admitted unto orders having for his preſent relief ſome Eccleſiaſtical benefice, ſhould alſo have ſome other title unto ſome annual rent or penſion whereby he might be relieved in caſe he were not able, through infirmity, ſickneſs, or other lawful impediment, to execute his Eccleſiaſtical office and function.

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dain to foreſee how ſuch ſhall be afterwards able to live, leſt their poverty and deſtitution ſhould redound to the diſgrace and diſcredit of their calling. Which evil prevented, thoſe very Laws, which in that reſpect forbid, do expreſsly admit ordinations to be made at large and without title; namely, if the party ſo ordained have of his own for the ſuſtenance of this life; or if the Biſhop which giveth him orders will find him competent allowance, till ſome place of adminiſtration from whence his maintenance may ariſe be provided for him; or if any other fit and ſufficient means be had againſt the danger before-mentioned. Abſolutely therefore it is not true, that any ancient Canon of the Church, which is or ought to be with us in force, doth make ordinations at large unlawful; and as the ſtate of the Church doth ſtand, they are moſt neceſſary. If there be any conſcience in men, touching that which they write or ſpeak, let them conſider as well what the preſent condition of all things doth now ſuffer, as what the ordinances of former ages did appoint; as well the weight of thoſe cauſes for which our affairs have altered, as the reaſons in regard whereof our fathers and predeceſſors did ſome time ſtrictly and ſeverely keep that, which for us to obſerve now is neither meet nor always poſſible. In this our preſent cauſe and controverſy, whether any not having title of right to a benefice may be lawfully ordained a miniſter, is it not manifeſt in the eyes of all men, that whereas the name of a benefice doth ſignify ſome ſtanding Eccleſiaſtical revenue taken out of the treaſure of God and allotted to a ſpiritual perſon, to the end he may uſe the ſame and enjoy it as his own for term of life, unleſs his default cauſe deprivation, the Clergy for many years after Chriſt had no other benefices, but only their canonical portions, or monthly dividends allowed them according to their ſeveral degrees and qualities, out of the common ſtock of ſuch gifts, oblations, and tithes,

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BOOK V. as the fervour of Chriſtian piety did then yield? Yea, that even when miniſters had their churches and flocks aſſigned unto them in ſeveral, yet for maintenance of life, their former kind of allowance continued, till ſuch time as Biſhops and Churches Cathedral being ſufficiently endowed with lands, other Preſbyters enjoyed, inſtead of their firſt benefices, the tithes and profits of their own congregations whole to themſelves? Is it not manifeſt, that in this realm, and ſo in other the like dominions, where the tenure of lands is altogether grounded on military laws, and held as in fee under princes which are not made heads of the people by force of voluntary election, but born the ſovereign lords of thoſe whole and entire territories, which territories their famous progenitors obtaining by way of conqueſt, retained what they would in their own hands, and divided the reſt to others with reſervation of ſovereignty and capital intereſt; the building of churches, and conſequently the aſſigning of either pariſhes or benefices, was a thing impoſſible without conſent of ſuch as were principal owners of land; in which conſideration, for their more encouragement hereunto, they which did ſo far benefit the Church had by common conſent granted (as great equity and reaſon was) a right for them and their heirs till the world's end, to nominate in thoſe benefices men whoſe quality the Biſhop allowing might admit them thereunto? Is it not manifeſt, that from hence inevitably ſuch inequality of pariſhes hath grown, as cauſeth ſome through the multitude of people which have reſort unto one church to be more than any one man can wield, and ſome to be of that nature by reaſon of chapels annexed, that they which are Incumbents ſhould wrong the Church if ſo be they had not certain Stipendiaries under them, becauſe where the corps of the profit or benefice is but one, the title can be but one man's, and yet the charge may require more? Not to mention

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therefore any other reaſon whereby it may clearly appear how expedient it is, and profitable for this Church to admit ordinations without title, this little may ſuffice to declare how impertinent their allegations againſt it are out of ancient Canons; how untrue their confident aſſeverations, that only through negligence of Popiſh Prelates the cuſtom of making ſuch kind of miniſters hath prevailed in the Church of Rome againſt their Canons, and that with us it is expreſsly againſt the laws of our own government when a miniſter doth ſerve as a ſtipendiary Curate, which kind of ſervice nevertheleſs the greateſt Rabbins of that part do altogether follow. For howſoever they are loth peradventure to be named Curates, Stipendiaries they are, and the labour they beſtow is in other men's cures; a thing not unlawful for them to do, yet unſeemly for them to condemn which practiſe it. I might here diſcover the like overſight throughout all their diſcourſes, made in behalf of the people's pretended right to elect their miniſters before the Biſhop may lawfully ordain. But becauſe we have otherwhere at large diſputed of popular elections, and of the right of patronage, wherein is drowned whatſoever the people under any pretence of colour may ſeem to challenge about admiſſion and choice of the paſtors that ſhall feed the ſouls, I cannot ſee what one duty there is which always ought to go before ordination, but only care of the party's worthineſs as well for integrity and virtue as knowledge; yea, for virtue more: inaſmuch as defect of knowledge may ſundry ways be ſupplied; but the ſcandal of vicious and wicked life is a deadly evil.

Of the learning that ſhould be in miniſters, their reſidence, and the number of their livings.

81. The truth is, that of all things hitherto mentioned, the greateſt is that threefold blot or blemiſh of notable ignorance, unconſcionable abſence from the cures whereof men have taken charge, and unſatiable hunting after ſpiritual preferments without either care or conſcience of the public good. Where-

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of, to the end that we may conſider as in God's own ſight and preſence with all uprightneſs, ſincerity, and truth, let us particularly weigh and examine in every of them; firſt, how far forth they are reprovable by reaſons and maxims of common right; ſecondly, whether that which our laws do permit be repugnant to thoſe maxims, and with what equity we ought to judge of things practiſed in this caſe, neither on the one hand defending that which muſt be acknowledged out of ſquare, nor on the other ſide condemning raſhly whom we liſt for whatſoever we diſallow. Touching arguments therefore taken from the principles of common right to prove that miniſters ſhould be learned, that they ought to be reſident upon their livings, and that more than one only benefice or ſpiritual living may not be granted unto one man; the firſt, becauſe St. Paul requireth in a miniſter ability to teach, to convince, to diſtribute the Word rightly; becauſe alſo the Lord himſelf hath proteſted they ſhall be no prieſts to him which have rejected knowledge, and becauſe if the blind lead the blind, they muſt both needs fall into the pit: the ſecond, becauſe teachers are ſhepherds whoſe flocks can be no time ſecure from danger; they are watchmen whom the enemy doth always beſiege; their labours in the Word and Sacrament admit no intermiſſion; their duty requireth inſtruction and conference with men in private; they are the living Oracles of God, to whom the people muſt reſort for counſel; they are commanded to be patterns of holineſs, leaders, feeders, ſuperviſors amongſt their own; it ſhould be their grief, as it was the Apoſtles', to be abſent, though neceſſarily, from them over whom they have taken charge: finally, the laſt, becauſe plurality and reſidence are oppoſite; becauſe the placing of one clerk in two churches is a point of merchandize and filthy gain; becauſe no man can ſerve two maſters; becauſe every one ſhould remain in that vocation whereto he is called;

T. C. lib. i. p. 70, 66, 69.
1 Tim. iii. 2.
Titus i. 9.
2 Tim. ii. 15.
Hoſ. iv. 6.
Matth. xv. 14.
Luke ii. 8.
Acts xx. 2.
1 Sam. i. 19.
1 Tim. iv. 12.
John x. 4.
1 Pet. v. 2.
Acts xx. 28.
1 Theſſ. ii. 17.
Con. Nic. cap. 15.
Matth. vi. 24.
1 Cor. vii. 24.

called; what conclude they of all this? Againſt ignorance, againſt non-reſidence, and againſt plurality of livings, is there any man ſo raw and dull, but that the volumes which have been written both of old and of late may make him in ſo plentiful a cauſe eloquent? For by that which is generally juſt and requiſite, we meaſure what knowledge there ſhould be in a miniſter of the Goſpel of Chriſt; the arguments which light of Nature offereth; the laws and ſtatutes which Scripture hath; the canons that are taken out of ancient ſynods; the decrees and conſtitutions of ſincereſt times; the ſentences of all antiquity; and in a word, even every man's full conſent and conſcience is againſt ignorance in them that have charge and cure of ſouls. Again, what availeth it if we be learned and not faithful? or what benefit hath the Church of Chriſt, if there be in us ſufficiency without endeavour or care to do that good which our place exacteth? Touching the pains and induſtry therefore, wherewith men are in conſcience bound to attend the work of their heavenly calling, even as much as in them lieth bending thereunto their whole endeavour, without either fraud, ſophiſtication, or guile; I ſee not what more effectual obligation or bond of duty there ſhould be urged, than their own only vow and promiſe made unto God himſelf at the time of their ordination. The work which they have undertaken requireth both care and fear. Their ſloth, that negligently perform it, maketh them ſubject to malediction. Beſides, we alſo know that the fruit of our pains in this function is life both to ourſelves and others. And do we yet need incitements to labour? Shall we ſtop our ears both againſt thoſe conjuring exhortations which Apoſtles, and againſt the fearful comminations which Prophets have uttered out of the mouth of God, the one for prevention, the other for reformation of our ſluggiſhneſs in this behalf? Saint Paul, *Attend to yourſelves, and to all the flock, whereof the Holy Ghoſt hath* Acts xx. 28.

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hath made you overſeers, to feed the Church of God which he hath purchaſed with his own blood. Again, *I charge thee before God, and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which ſhall judge the quick and the dead at his coming, preach the Word; be inſtant.*—Jeremiah, *Woe unto the paſtors that deſtroy and ſcatter the ſheep of my paſture; I will viſit you for the wickedneſs of your works, ſaith the Lord; the remnant of my ſheep I will gather together out of all countries, and will bring them again to their folds; they ſhall grow and increaſe, and I will ſet up ſhepherds over them which ſhall feed them.* Ezekiel. *Should not the ſhepherds, ſhould they not feed the flocks? Ye eat the fat, and ye clothe yourſelves with the wool, but the weak ye have not ſtrengthened, the ſick ye have not cured, neither have ye bound up the broken, nor brought home again that which was driven away; ye have not enquired after that which was loſt, but with cruelty and rigour have ruled.* And ver. 8—10. *Wherefore, as I live, I will require my ſheep at their hands, nor ſhall the ſhepherds feed themſelves any more; for I will deliver my ſheep from their mouths, they ſhall no more devour them.* Nor let us think to excuſe ourſelves if haply we labour, though it be at random, and ſit not altogether idle abroad. For we are bound to attend that part of the flock of Chriſt, whereof the Holy Ghoſt hath made us overſeers. The reſidence of miniſters upon their own peculiar charge is by ſo much the rather neceſſary, for that abſenting themſelves from the place where they ought to labour, they neither can do the good which is looked for at their hands, nor reap the comfort which ſweeteneth life to them that ſpend it in their travels upon their own. For it is in this, as in all things elſe which are through private intereſt dearer than what concerneth either others wholly, or us but in part, and according to the rate of a general regard. As for plurality, it hath not only the ſame inconveniences which are obſerved to grow by abſence; but over and beſides, at the leaſt in common conſtruction,

2 Tim. iv. 1, 2.

Jer. xxiii. 1—4.

Ezek. xxxiv. 2—4.

ſtruction, a ſhew of that worldly humour which men do think ſhould not reign ſo high. Now from hence their collections are, as followeth; firſt, a repugnancy or contradiction between the principles of common right, and that which our laws in ſpecial conſiderations have allowed; ſecondly, a nullity or fruſtration of all ſuch acts as are by them ſuppoſed oppoſite to thoſe principles, and invalidity in all ordinations of men unable to preach, and in all diſpenſations which mitigate the law of common right for the other two. And why ſo? Forſooth, becauſe whatever we do in theſe three caſes, and not by virtue of common right, we muſt yield it of neceſſity done by warrant of peculiar right or privilege. Now a privilege is ſaid to be that, that for favour of certain perſons cometh forth againſt common right; things prohibited are diſpenſed with, becauſe things permitted are diſpatched by common right, but things forbidden require diſpenſations. By which deſcriptions of a privilege and diſpenſation it is (they ſay) apparent, that a privilege muſt licenſe and authorize the ſame which the law againſt ignorance, non-reſidence, and plurality doth infringe; and ſo be a law contrariant or repugnant to the Law of Nature and the Law of God, becauſe all the reaſons whereupon the poſitive Law of Man againſt theſe three was firſt eſtabliſhed are taken and drawn from the Law of Nature and the Law of God. For anſwer whereunto we will but lead them to anſwer themſelves. Firſt therefore if they will grant (as they muſt) that all direct oppoſitions of ſpeech require one and the ſelf-ſame ſubject to be meant on both parts where oppoſition is pretended, it will follow that either the maxims of common right do enforce the very ſame things not to be good which we ſay are good, grounding ourſelves on the reaſons by virtue whereof our privileges are eſtabliſhed, or if the one do not reach unto that particular ſubject for which the other have provided, then is there no

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Abſtract. p. 117.

contradiction

BOOK V. contradiction between them. In all contradictions, if the one part be true, the other eternally muſt be falſe. And therefore if the principles of common right do at any time truly enforce that particular not to be good which privileges make good, it argueth invincibly that ſuch privileges have been grounded upon ſome error. But to ſay, that every privilege is oppoſite unto the principles of common right, becauſe it diſpenſeth with that which common right doth prohibit, hath groſs abſurdity. For the voice of equity and juſtice is, that a general law doth never derogate from a ſpecial privilege; whereas if the one were contrariant to the other, a general law being in force ſhould always diſſolve a privilege. The reaſon why many are deceived by imagining that ſo it ſhould do, and why men of better inſight conclude directly it ſhould not, doth reſt in the ſubject or matter itſelf; which matter indefinitely conſidered in laws of common right, is in privileges conſidered as beſet and limited, with ſpecial circumſtances; by means whereof to them which reſpect it but by way of generality, it ſeemeth one and the ſame in both, although it be not the ſame, if once we deſcend to particular conſideration thereof. Precepts do always propoſe perfection, not ſuch as none can attain unto, for then in vain ſhould we aſk or require it at the hands of men, but ſuch perfection as all men muſt aim at; to the end that as largely as human providence and care can extend it, it may take place. Moral laws are the rules of politic; thoſe politic, which are made to order the whole Church of God, rules unto all particular Churches; and the laws of every particular Church, rules unto every particular man within the body of the ſame Church: now, becauſe the higher we aſcend in theſe rules, the further ſtill we remove from thoſe ſpecialties, which being proper to the ſubject, whereupon our actions muſt work, and therefore chiefly conſidered by us, by them leaſt thought upon that wade altogether in the

the two firſt kinds of general directions, their judg- BOOK
ment cannot be exact and ſound concerning either V.
Laws of Churches, or actions of men in particular, becauſe they determine of effects by a part of the cauſes only out of which they grow; they judge concluſions by demi-premiſes and half-principles; they lay them in the balance ſtripped from thoſe neceſſary material circumſtances which ſhould give them weight; and by ſhew of falling uneven with the ſcale of moſt univerſal and abſtracted rules, they pronounce that too light which is not, if they had the ſkill to weigh it. This is the reaſon why men altogether converſant in ſtudy do know how to teach, but not how to govern; men experienced contrariwiſe govern well, yet know not which way to ſet down orderly the precepts and reaſons of that they do. He that will therefore judge rightly of things done, muſt join with his forms and conceits of general ſpeculation the matter wherein our actions are converſant. For by this ſhall appear what equity there is in thoſe privileges and peculiar grants or favours which otherwiſe will ſeem repugnant to juſtice; and becauſe in themſelves conſidered they have a ſhew of repugnancy, this deceiveth thoſe great clerks, which hearing a privilege defined to be [a] *an eſpecial right brought in by their power and authority that make it for ſome public benefit againſt the general courſe of reaſon*, are not able to comprehend how the word *againſt* doth import exception without any oppoſition at all. For inaſmuch as the hand of juſtice muſt diſtribute to every particular what is due, and judge what is due with reſpect had no leſs of particular circumſtances than of general rules and axioms; it cannot fit all ſorts with one meaſure, the wills, counſels, qualities, and ſtates of men being divers.

[a] Jus ſingulare eſt, quod contra tenorem rationis propter aliquam utilitatem authoritate conſtituentium introductum eſt. Paulus ff. de Legib.

For

BOOK V. For example, the law of common right bindeth all men to keep their promiſes, perform their compacts, and anſwer the faith they have given either for themſelves or others. Notwithſtanding he which bargaineth with one under years can have no benefit by this allegation, becauſe he bringeth it againſt a perſon which is exempt from the common rule. Shall we then conclude, that thus to exempt certain men from the law of common right is againſt God, againſt Nature, againſt whatſoever may avail to ſtrengthen and juſtify that law before alleged; or elſe acknowledge (as the truth is) that ſpecial cauſes are to be ordered by ſpecial rules; that if men grown unto ripe age diſadvantage themſelves by bargaining, yet what they have wittingly done is ſtrong and in force againſt them, becauſe they are able to diſpoſe and manage their own affairs; whereas youth for lack of experience and judgment, being eaſily ſubject to circumvention, is therefore juſtly exempt from the law of common right whereunto the reſt are juſtly ſubject? This plain inequality between men of years and under years is a cauſe why equity and juſtice cannot apply equally the ſame general rule to both, but ordereth the one by common right, and granteth to the other a ſpecial privilege. Privileges are either tranſitory or permanent: tranſitory, ſuch as ſerve only ſome one turn, or at the moſt extend no farther than to this or that man[a], with the end of whoſe natural life they expire; permanent, ſuch as the uſe whereof doth continue ſtill, for that they belong unto certain kinds of men and cauſes which never die. Of this nature are all immunities and preeminences, which for juſt conſiderations one ſort of men enjoyeth above another both in the Church and Commonwealth, no man ſuſpecting them

[a] Privilegium perſonale cum perſona extinguitur, et privilegium datum actioni tranſit cum actione. Op. de Regulis, p. 1. 227.

of

of contrariety to any branch of thoſe laws or reaſons whereupon the general right is grounded. Now there being general laws and rules whereby it cannot be denied but the Church of God ſtandeth bound to provide that the miniſtry may be learned, that they which have charge may reſide upon it, and that it may not be free for them in ſcandalous manner to multiply Eccleſiaſtical livings; it remaineth in the next place to be examined, what the laws of the Church of England do admit, which may be thought repugnant to any thing hitherto alleged, and in what ſpecial conſideration they ſeem to admit the ſame. Conſidering, therefore, that to furniſh all places of cure of this realm, it is not an army of twelve thouſand learned men that would ſuffice, nor two Univerſities that can always furniſh as many as decay in ſo great a number, nor a fourth part of the livings with cure, that when they fall are able to yield ſufficient maintenance for learned men, is it not plain that unleſs the greateſt part of the people ſhould be left utterly without the public uſe and exerciſe of Religion, there is no remedy but to take into the Eccleſiaſtical Order a number of men meanly qualified in reſpect of learning? For whatſoever we may imagine in our private cloſets, or talk for communication ſake at our boards, yea, or write in our books through a notional conceit of things needful for performance of each man's duty, if once we come from the theory of learning, to take out ſo many learned men, let them be diligently viewed out of whom the choice ſhall be made, and thereby an eſtimate made what degree of ſkill we muſt either admit or elſe leave numbers utterly deſtitute of guides, and I doubt not but that men endued with ſenſe of common equity will ſoon diſcern, that, beſides eminent and competent knowledge, we are to deſcend to a lower ſtep, receiving knowledge in that degree which is but tolerable. When we commend any man for learning, our ſpeech im- BOOK V.

BOOK V. porteth him to be more than meanly qualified that way; but when Laws do require learning as a quality, which maketh capable of any function, our meaſure to judge a learned man by muſt be ſome certain degree of learning, beneath which we can hold no man ſo qualified. And if every man that liſteth may ſet that degree himſelf, how ſhall we ever know when Laws are broken, when kept, ſeeing one man may think a lower degree ſufficient, another may judge them unſufficient that are not qualified in ſome higher degree? Wherefore of neceſſity either we muſt have ſome judge, in whoſe conſcience they that are thought and pronounced ſufficient are to be ſo accepted and taken, or elſe the Law itſelf is to ſet down the very loweſt degree of fitneſs that ſhall be allowable in this kind. So that the queſtion doth grow to this iſſue. St. Paul requireth learning in Preſbyters, yea ſuch learning as doth enable them to exhort in doctrine which is ſound, and to diſprove them that gainſay it. What meaſure of ability in ſuch things ſhall ſerve to make men capable of that kind of office he doth not himſelf preciſely determine, but referreth it to the conſcience
Tit. i. 9. of Titus, and others which had to deal in ordaining Preſbyters. We muſt therefore of neceſſity make this demand, whether the Church, lacking ſuch as the Apoſtle would have choſen, may with good conſcience take out of ſuch as it hath in a meaner degree of fitneſs, them that may ſerve to perform the ſervice of public prayer, to miniſter the ſacraments unto the people, to ſolemnize marriage, to viſit the ſick, and bury the dead, to inſtruct by reading, although by preaching they be not as yet ſo able to benefit and feed Chriſt's flock. We conſtantly hold, that in this caſe the Apoſtle's law is not broken. He requireth more in Preſbyters than there is found in many whom the Church of England alloweth. But no man being tied unto impoſſibilities, to do that we cannot we are not bound.

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It is but a ſtratagem of theirs therefore, and a very indirect practice, when they publiſh large declamations to prove that learning is required in the miniſtry, and to make the ſilly people believe that the contrary is maintained by the Biſhops, and upheld by the laws of the land; whereas the queſtion in truth is not whether learning be required, but whether a Church, wherein there is not ſufficient ſtore of learned men to furniſh all congregations, ſhould do better to let thouſands of ſouls grow ſavage, to let them live without any public ſervice of God, to let their children die unbaptized, to withhold the benefit of the other Sacrament from them, to let them depart this world like Pagans, without any thing ſo much as read unto them concerning the way of life, than, as it doth in this neceſſity, to make ſuch Preſbyters as are ſo far forth ſufficient, although they want that ability of preaching which ſome others have. In this point therefore we obey neceſſity, and of two evils we take the leſs; in the reſt a public utility is ſought, and in regard thereof ſome certain inconveniences tolerated becauſe they are recompenſed with greater good. The Law giveth liberty of non-reſidence for a time to ſuch as will live in Univerſities, if they faithfully there labour to grow in knowledge, that ſo they may afterwards the more edify and the better inſtruct their congregations. The Church in their abſence is not deſtitute, the people's ſalvation not neglected for the preſent time, the time of their abſence is in the intendment of Law beſtowed to the Church's great advantage and benefit; thoſe neceſſary helps are procured by it, which turn by many degrees more to the people's comfort in time to come, than if their paſtors had continually abidden with them. So that the Law doth hereby provide in ſome part to remedy and help that evil which the former neceſſity hath impoſed upon the Church. For compare two men of equal meanneſs, the one perpetually reſident, the other abſent

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BOOK V. for a ſpace in ſuch ſort as the Law permitteth. Allot unto both ſome nine years' continuance with cure of ſouls. And muſt not three years' abſence in all probability and likelihood make the one more profitable than the other unto God's Church, by ſo much as the increaſe of his knowledge, gotten in thoſe three years, may add unto ſix years' travail following? For the greater ability there is added to the inſtrument, wherewith it pleaſeth God to ſave ſouls, the more facility and expedition it hath to work that which is otherwiſe hardlier effected. As much may be ſaid touching abſence granted to them that attend in the families of Biſhops; which ſchools of gravity, diſcretion, and wiſdom, preparing men againſt the time that they come to reſide abroad, are, in my poor opinion, even the fitteſt places that any ingenuous mind can wiſh to enter into, between departure from private ſtudy and acceſs to a more public charge of ſouls; yea no leſs expedient for men of the beſt ſufficiency and moſt maturity in knowledge, than the very Univerſities themſelves are, for the ripening of ſuch as be raw. Employments in the families of noblemen, or in princes' courts, hath another end for which the ſelf-ſame leave is given, not without great reſpect to the good of the whole Church. For aſſuredly, whoſoever doth well obſerve how much all inferior things depend upon the orderly courſes and motions of thoſe greater orbs, will hardly judge it either meet or good, that the Angels aſſiſting them ſhould be driven to betake themſelves to other ſtations, although by nature they were not tied where they now are, but had charge alſo elſewhere, as long as their abſence from beneath might but tolerably be ſupplied, and by deſcending their rooms above ſhould become vacant. For we are not to dream in this caſe of any platform which bringeth equally high and low unto pariſh churches, nor of any conſtraint to maintain at their own charge men ſufficient for that purpoſe; the one

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ſo repugnant to the majeſty and greatneſs of Engliſh nobility, the other ſo improbable and unlikely to take effect, that they which mention either of both, ſeem not indeed to have conceived what either is. But the eye of the Law is the eye of God, it looketh into the hearts and ſecret diſpoſitions of men, it beholdeth how far one ſtar differeth from another in glory, and as men's ſeveral degrees require, accordingly it guideth them; granting unto principal perſonages privileges correſpondent to their high eſtates, and that not only in civil, but even in ſpiritual affairs, to the end they may love that Religion the more, which no way ſeeketh to make them vulgar, no way diminiſhes their dignity and greatneſs, but to do them good doth them honour alſo, and by ſuch extraordinary favours teacheth them to be in the Church of God, the ſame which the Church of God eſteemeth them, more worth than thouſands. It appeareth therefore in what reſpect the Laws of this realm have given liberty of non-reſidence to ſome, that their knowledge may be increaſed, and their labours by that mean be made afterwards the more profitable to others, leſt the houſes of great men ſhould want that daily exerciſe of Religion, wherein their example availeth as much, yea many times peradventure more than the Laws themſelves with the common ſort. A third thing reſpected both in permitting abſence, and alſo in granting to ſome that liberty of addition or plurality, which neceſſarily enforceth their abſence, is a mere both juſt and conſcionable regard that as men are in quality, and as their ſervices are in weight for the public good, ſo likewiſe their rewards and encouragements by ſpecial privilege of Law might ſomewhat declare how the ſtate itſelf doth accept their pains, much abhorring from their beſtial and ſavage rudeneſs, which think that oxen ſhould only labour, and aſſes feed. Thus to Readers in Univerſities, whoſe very paper and book-expences their ancient

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BOOK V. allowances and ſtipends at this day do either not, or hardly ſuſtain; to Governors of Colleges, leſt the great overplus of charges neceſſarily enforced upon them, by reaſon of their place, and very ſlenderly ſupplied, by means of that charge in the preſent condition of things which their Founders could not foreſee; to men called away from their cures, and employed in weightier buſineſs either of the Church or Commonwealth, becauſe to impoſe upon them a burden which requireth their abſence, and not to releaſe them from the duty of reſidence, were a kind of cruel and barbarous injuſtice; to reſidents in Cathedral Churches, or upon dignities Eccleſiaſtical, foraſmuch as theſe being rooms of greater hoſpitality, places of more reſpect and conſequence than the reſt, they are the rather to be furniſhed with men of beſt quality, and the men for their quality's ſake to be favoured above others—I ſay unto all theſe, in regard of their worth and merit, the Law hath therefore given leave, while themſelves bear weightier burdens, to ſupply inferior by reputation, and in like conſideration partly, partly alſo by way of honour to learning, nobility, and authority, permitteth, that men which have taken theological degrees in ſchools, the Suffragans of Biſhops, the houſehold Chaplains of men of honour or in great offices, the brethren and ſons of Lords temporal, or of Knights, if God ſhall move the hearts of ſuch to enter at any time into holy orders, may obtain to themſelves a faculty or licence to hold two Eccleſiaſtical livings though having cure; any ſpiritual perſons of the Queen's Council, three ſuch livings; her Chaplains, what number of promotions herſelf in her own princely wiſdom thinketh good to beſtow upon them. But, as it fareth in ſuch caſes, the gap which for juſt conſiderations we open unto ſome, letteth in others through corrupt practices, to whom ſuch favours were neither meant nor ſhould be communicated. The greatneſs of the harveſt, and the ſcarcity

ſcarcity of able workmen hath made it neceſſary that Law ſhould yield to admit numbers of men but ſlenderly and meanly qualified. Hereupon, becauſe whom all other worldly hopes have forſaken, they commonly reſerve miniſterial vocation as their laſt and ſureſt refuge ever open to forlorn men; the Church, that ſhould nouriſh them whoſe ſervice ſhe needeth, hath obtruded upon her their ſervice that know not otherwiſe how to live and ſuſtain themſelves. Theſe finding nothing more eaſy than means to procure the writing of a few lines to ſome one or other which hath authority, and nothing more uſual than too much facility in condeſcending unto ſuch requeſts, are often received into that vocation whereunto their unworthineſs is no ſmall diſgrace. Did any thing more aggravate the crime of Jeroboam's profane apoſtaſy, than that he choſe to have his Clergy the ſcum and refuſe of his whole land? Let no man ſpare to tell it them, that they are not faithful towards God that burden wilfully his Church with ſuch ſwarms of unworthy creatures. I will not ſay of all degrees in the miniſtry, that which St. Chryſoſtom doth of the higheſt, *He that will undertake ſo weighty a charge, had need to be a man of great underſtanding, rarely aſſiſted with divine grace, for integrity of manners, purity of life, and for all other virtues, to have in him more than a man:* but ſurely this I will ſay with Chryſoſtom, *We need not doubt whether God be highly diſpleaſed with us, or what the cauſe of his anger is, if things of ſo great fear and holineſs as are the leaſt and loweſt duties of his ſervice, be thrown wilfully on them whoſe not only mean, but bad and ſcandalous quality doth defile whatſoever they handle.* Theſe eye-ſores and blemiſhes in continual attendants about the ſervice of God's Sanctuary, do make them every day fewer that willingly reſort unto it, till at length all affection and zeal towards God be extinct in them through a wearieſome contempt of their perſons, which for a time only live by Religion, and are for recompence,

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Chryſoſt. de Sacerdotio, lib. iii. c. 15, 16.

BOOK V. pence, in fine, the death of the nurſe that feedeth them. It is not obſcure, how incommodious the Church hath found both this abuſe of the liberty which Law is enforced to grant; and not only this, but the like abuſe of that favour alſo which Law in other conſiderations already mentioned afforded touching reſidence and plurality of ſpiritual livings. Now that which is practiſed corruptly to the detriment and hurt of the Church againſt the purpoſe of thoſe very Laws which notwithſtanding are pretended in defence and juſtification thereof, we muſt needs acknowledge no leſs repugnant to the grounds and principles of common right, than the fraudulent proceedings of tyrants to the principles of juſt ſovereignty. Howbeit not ſo thoſe ſpecial privileges which are but inſtruments wreſted and forced to ſerve malice. There is in the patriarch of heathen philoſophers this precept, [a] *Let no huſbandman nor no handicraftſman be a prieſt.* The reaſon whereupon he groundeth is a maxim in the Law of Nature; *it importeth greatly the good of all men that God be reverenced*, with whoſe honour it ſtandeth not that they which are publicly employed in his ſervice ſhould live of baſe and manuary trades. Now compare herewith the Apoſtle's words, *Ye know that theſe hands have miniſtered to my neceſſities, and to them that are with me.* What think we? Did the Apoſtle any thing oppoſite herein, or repugnant to the rules and maxims of the Law of Nature? The ſelf-ſame reaſons, that accord his actions with the Law of Nature, ſhall declare our privileges and his laws no leſs conſonant. Thus therefore we ſee, that although they urge very colourably the Apoſtle's own ſentences, requiring that a miniſter ſhould be able to divide rightly the Word of God, that they who are placed in charge ſhould attend unto it them-

Acts xx. 34. 1 Cor. iv. 12. 1 Theſſ. ii. 9. 2 Theſſ. iii. 8.

[a] Οὔτε γὰρ γεωργὸν, ἔτι βάναυσον ἱερέα καταστατέον· ὑπὸ γὰρ τῶν πολιτῶν πρέπει τιμᾶσθαι τὰς θεάς. Ariſt. Politic. vii. c. 9.

ſelves,

ſelves, which in abſence they cannot do, and that they which have divers cures muſt of neceſſity be abſent from ſome, whereby the Law apoſtolic ſeemeth apparently broken, which Law requiring attendance cannot otherwiſe be underſtood than ſo as to charge them with perpetual reſidence: again, though in every of theſe cauſes they indefinitely heap up the ſentences of Fathers, the decrees of Popes, the ancient edicts of imperial authority, our own national Laws and Ordinances prohibiting the ſame, and grounding evermore their prohibitions partly on the Laws of God, and partly on reaſons drawn from the light of Nature, yet hereby to gather and infer contradiction between thoſe Laws which forbid indefinitely, and ours which in certain caſes have allowed the ordaining of ſundry miniſters whoſe ſufficiency for learning is but mean; again, the licenſing of ſome to be abſent from their flocks, and of others to hold more than one only living which hath cure of ſouls, I ſay, to conclude repugnancy between theſe eſpecial permiſſions and the former general prohibitions which ſet not down their own limits, is erroneous, and the manifeſt cauſe thereof ignorance in difference of matter which both ſorts of Law concern. If then the conſiderations be reaſonable, juſt, and good, whereupon we ground whatſoever our Laws have by ſpecial right permitted, if only the effects of abuſed privileges be repugnant to the maxims of common right, this main foundation of repugnancy being broken, whatſoever they have built thereupon falleth neceſſarily to the ground. Whereas therefore, upon ſurmiſe, or vain ſuppoſal of oppoſition between our ſpecial and the principles of common right, they gather that ſuch as are with us ordained miniſters, before they can preach be neither lawful, becauſe the Laws already mentioned forbid generally to create ſuch, neither are they indeed miniſters, although we commonly ſo name them, but whatſoever they execute by virtue of ſuch their pretended

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There is crept into the minds of men, at this day, a ſecret pernicious and peſtilent conceit, that the greateſt perfection of a Chriſtian man doth conſiſt in diſcovery of other men's faults, and in wit to diſcourſe of our own profeſſion. When the world moſt abounded with juſt, righteous, and perfect men, their chiefeſt ſtudy was the exerciſe of piety, wherein for their ſafeſt direction they reverently hearkened to the readings of the Law of God, they kept in mind the oracles and aphoriſms of wiſdom which tended unto virtuous life; if any ſcruple of conſcience did trouble them for matter of actions which they took in hand, nothing was attempted before counſel and advice were had, for fear leſt raſhly they might offend. We are now more confident, not that our knowledge and judgment is riper, but becauſe our deſires are another way. Their ſcope was obedience, ours is ſkill; their endeavour was reformation of life, [a] our virtue nothing but to hear

[a] Ἀλλ' οἱ πολλοὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐ πράττουσιν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν λόγον καταφεύγοντες οἴονται φιλοσοφεῖν, καὶ ὅτως ἔσεσθαι σπουδαῖοι· ὅμοιόν τι ποιοῦντες τοῖς κάμνουσιν, οἳ τῷ ἰατρῷ ἀκούουσι μὲν ἐπιμελῶς, ποιοῦσι δὲ ἐδὲν τῶν προσταττομέ-

νων.

gladly the reproof of vice; they in the practice of their Religion wearied chiefly their knees and hands, we especially our ears and tongues. We are grown as in many things else, so in this, to a kind of intemperancy, which (only sermons excepted) hath almost brought all other duties of Religion out of taste. At the least they are not in that account and reputation which they should be. Now, because men bring all Religion in a manner to the only office of hearing sermons, if it chance that they who are thus conceited do embrace any special opinion different from other men, the sermons that relish not that opinion can in no wise please their appetite. Such therefore as preach unto them, but hit not the string they look for, are respected as unprofitable, the rest as unlawful; and indeed no ministers, if the faculty of sermons want. For why? A minister of the Word should, they say, be able rightly to *divide* the Word. Which Apostolic Canon many think they do well observe, when in opening the sentences of holy Scripture they draw all things favourably spoken unto one side; but whatsoever is reprehensive, severe, and sharp, they have others on the contrary part whom that must always concern, by which their over-partial and un-indifferent proceeding, while they thus labour amongst the people to divide the Word, they make the Word a mean to divide and distract the people. Ὀρθοτομεῖν, *to divide aright*, doth note in the Apostles' writings soundness of doctrine only; and in meaning standeth opposite to καινοτομεῖν, *the broaching of new opinions against that which is received*. For questionless the first things delivered to the Church of Christ were pure and sincere truth; which whosoever did afterwards oppugn, could not choose but divide the Church into two moieties; in which division, such as taught what was first believed, held the truer part; the contrary side, in

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ων. Ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ δεῖ ἐκεῖνοι εὖ ἕξουσι τὸ σῶμα, οὕτω θεραπευόμενοι, εἰ δεῖ καὶ τὴν ψύχην οὕτω φιλοσοφοῦντες. Arist. Eth. lib. ii. c. 4. in fine.

that

BOOK V. that they were teachers of novelty, erred. For prevention of which evil there are in this Church many ſingular and deviſed remedies; as namely, the uſe of ſubſcribing to the Articles of Religion before admiſſion to degrees of learning or to any Eccleſiaſtical living; the cuſtom of reading the ſame Articles, and of approving them in public aſſemblies whereſoever men have benefices with cure of ſouls; the order of teſtifying under their hands allowance of the Book of Common Prayer, and the Book of ordaining Miniſters; finally, the diſcipline and moderate ſeverity which is uſed either in otherwiſe correcting or ſilencing them that trouble and diſturb the Church with doctrines which tend unto innovation; it being better that the Church ſhould want altogether the benefit of ſuch men's labours, than endure the miſchief of their inconformity to good laws; in which caſe, if any repine at the courſe the proceedings of juſtice, they muſt learn to conſiſt themſelves with the anſwer of M. Curius, which had ſometime occaſion to cut off one from the body of the commonwealth; in whoſe behalf becauſe it might have been pleaded that the party was a man ſerviceable, he therefore began his judicial ſentence with this preamble, *Non eſſe opus reip. eo cive qui parere neſciret*; *The commonwealth needeth men of quality, yet never thoſe men which have not learned how to obey.* But the ways which the Church of England hath taken to provide that they who are teachers of others may do it ſoundly, that the purity and unity as well of ancient diſcipline as doctrine may be upheld, that avoiding ſingularities we may all glorify God with one heart and one tongue, they of all do leaſt approve that do moſt urge the Apoſtles' rule and canon. For which cauſe they allege it not ſo much to that purpoſe, as to prove that unpreaching miniſters (for ſo they term them) can have no true nor lawful calling in the Church of God. St. Auguſtine hath ſaid of the will of man, that *ſimply to will*

Valer. lib. vi. c. 3.

will proceedeth from nature, but our well-willing is from grace. We ſay as much of the miniſters of God, *publicly to teach and inſtruct the Church is neceſſary in every Eccleſiaſtical miniſter; but ability to teach by ſermons is a grace which God doth beſtow on them whom he maketh ſufficient for the commendable diſcharge of their duty.* That therefore wherein a miniſter differeth from other Chriſtian men is not, as ſome have childiſhly imagined, the *ſound preaching of the Word of God*; but as they are lawfully and truly governors to whom authority of regiment is given in the commonwealth according to the order which Polity hath ſet, ſo canonical ordination in the Church of Chriſt is that which maketh a lawful miniſter *as touching the validity of any act which appertaineth to that vocation.* The cauſe why St. Paul willed Timothy not to be over-haſty in ordaining miniſters, was (as we very well may conjecture) becauſe impoſition of hands doth conſecrate and make them miniſters whether they have gifts and qualities fit for the laudable diſcharge of their duties or no. If want of learning and ſkill to preach did fruſtrate their vocation, miniſters ordained before they be grown unto that maturity ſhould receive new ordination whenſoever it chanceth that ſtudy and induſtry doth make them afterwards more able to perform the office; than which what conceit can be more abſurd? Was not St. Auguſtine himſelf contented to admit an aſſiſtant in his own Church, a man of ſmall erudition, conſidering that what he wanted in knowledge was ſupplied by thoſe virtues which made his life a better orator than more learning could make others whoſe converſation was leſs holy? Were the prieſts ſithence Moſes all able and ſufficient men, learnedly to interpret the Law of God? Or was it ever imagined that this defect ſhould fruſtrate what they executed, and deprive them of right unto any thing they claimed by virtue of their prieſthood? Surely, as in magiſtrates the want of thoſe gifts which their office needeth is

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Ox. Man. P. 27.

cauſe

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cauſe of juſt imputation of blame in them that wittingly chooſe unſufficient and unfit men when they might do otherwiſe, and yet therefore is not their choice void, nor every action of magiſtracy fruſtrate in that reſpect; ſo whether it were of neceſſity, or even of very careleſſneſs that men unable to preach ſhould be taken in paſtors' rooms, nevertheleſs it ſeemeth to be an error in them which think the lack of any ſuch perfection defeateth utterly their calling. To wiſh that all men were qualified as their place and dignities require, to hate all ſiniſter and corrupt dealings which hereunto are any let, to covet ſpeedy redreſs of thoſe things whatſoever whereby the Church ſuſtaineth detriment, theſe good and virtuous deſires cannot offend any but ungodly minds. Notwithſtanding, ſome in the true vehemency, and others under the fair pretence of theſe deſires, have adventured that which is ſtrange, that which is violent and unjuſt. There are which in confidence of their general allegation concerning the knowledge, the reſidence, and the ſingle livings of miniſters, preſume not only to annihilate the ſolemn ordinations of ſuch as the Church muſt of force admit, but alſo to urge a kind of univerſal proſcription againſt them, to ſet down articles, to draw commiſſions, and almoſt to name themſelves of the Quorum, for inquiry into men's eſtates and dealings, whom at their pleaſure they would deprive and make obnoxious to what puniſhment themſelves liſt, and that not for any violation of Laws either ſpiritual or civil, but becauſe men have truſted the Laws too far, becauſe they have held and enjoyed the liberty which Law granteth, becauſe they had not the wit to conceive as theſe men do, that Laws were made to entrap the ſimple, by permitting thoſe things in ſhew and appearance which indeed ſhould never take effect, foraſmuch as they were but granted with a ſecret condition to be put in practice if they ſhould be profitable and agreeable with the Word of God; which

The Author of the Abſtract.

which condition failing in all miniſters that cannot preach, in all that are abſent from their livings, and in all that have divers livings, (for ſo it muſt be preſumed, though never as yet proved,) therefore as men which have broken the Law of God and Nature they are deprivable at all hours. Is this the juſtice of that diſcipline whereunto all Chriſtian Churches muſt ſtoop and ſubmit themſelves? Is this the equity wherewith they labour to reform the world? I will no way diminiſh the force of thoſe arguments whereupon they ground: but if it pleaſe them to behold the viſage of theſe collections in another glaſs, there are civil as well as eccleſiaſtical unſufficiencies, non-reſidences, and pluralities; yea the reaſons which light of Nature hath miniſtered againſt both are of ſuch affinity, that much leſs they cannot enforce in the one than in the other. When they that bear great offices be perſons of mean worth, the contempt whereinto their authority groweth [a] weakeneth the ſinews of the whole ſtate. Notwithſtanding, where many governors are needful, and they not many whom their quality can commend, [b] the penury of worthier muſt needs make the meaner ſort of men capable. Cities, in the abſence of their governors, are as ſhips wanting pilots at ſea: but were it therefore [c] juſtice to puniſh whom ſuperior authority pleaſeth to call from home, or alloweth to be employed elſewhere? In committing [d] many offices to one man there are apparently theſe

[a] Μεγάλων γὰρ κύριοι καθεστῶτες, ἂν εὐτελεῖς ὦσι, μεγάλα βλάπτουσι. Ariſt. Polit. ii, c. 9.

[b] Nec ignoro maximos honores ad parum dignos penuria meliorum ſolere deferri. Mamertin. Paneg. ad Julian.

[c] Neque enim æquum viſum eſt abſentem Reipub. cauſa inter reos referri dum Reipub. operatur. Ulpian. l. xv. Si maritus, ad legem Julian. de Adulter.

[d] Ariſt. Polit. l. ii. c. 9. See the like preamble framed by the Author of the Abſtract, where he fancieth a Biſhop depoſing one unapt to preach, whom himſelf had before ordained.

incon-

BOOK V. inconveniences; the commonwealth doth loſe the benefit of ſerviceable men which might be trained up in thoſe rooms; it is not eaſy for one man to diſcharge many men's duties well; in ſervice of warfare and navigation, were it not the overthrow of whatſoever is undertaken if one or two ſhould engroſs ſuch offices, as, being now divided into many hands, are diſcharged with admirable both perfection and expedition? Nevertheleſs, be it far from the mind of any reaſonable man to imagine, that in theſe conſiderations princes either ought of duty to revoke all ſuch kind of grants, though made with very ſpecial reſpect to the extraordinary merit of certain men, or might in honour demand of them the reſignation of their offices with ſpeech to this or the like effect: *Foraſmuch as you A. B. by the ſpace of many years have done us that faithful ſervice in moſt important affairs, for which we always judging you worthy of much honour, have therefore committed unto you from time to time very great and weighty offices, which hitherto you quietly enjoy; we are now given to underſtand, that certain grave and learned men have found in the books of ancient philoſophers divers arguments drawn from the common light of nature, and declaring the wonderful diſcommodities which uſe to grow by dignities thus heaped together in one: for which cauſe, at this preſent, moved in conſcience and tender care for the public good, we have ſummoned you hither to diſpoſſeſs you of thoſe places, and to depoſe you from thoſe rooms whereof indeed by virtue of our own grant, yet againſt reaſon, you are poſſeſſed. Neither ought you or any other to think us raſh, light, or inconſtant, in ſo doing; for we tell you plain, that herein we will both ſay and do that thing which the noble and wiſe Emperor ſometime both ſaid and did in a matter of far leſs weight than this*; Quod inconſulto fecimus, conſulto revocamus, *That which we unadviſedly have done, we adviſedly will revoke and undo.* Now for mine own part the greateſt harm I would wiſh them who think that this

this were conſonant with equity and right is, that they might but live where all things are with ſuch kind of juſtice ordered till experience have taught them to ſee their error. As for the laſt thing which is incident into the cauſe whereof we ſpeak, namely, what courſe were the beſt and ſafeſt whereby to remedy ſuch evils as the Church of God may ſuſtain, where the preſent liberty of Law is turned to great abuſe, ſome light we may receive from abroad, not unprofitable for direction of God's own ſacred houſe and family. The Romans being a people full of generoſity, and by nature courteous, did no way more ſhew their gentle diſpoſition than by eaſy condeſcending to ſet their bondmen at liberty. Which benefit in the happier and better times of the commonwealth was beſtowed for the moſt part as an ordinary reward of virtue, ſome few now and then alſo purchaſing freedom with that which their juſt labours could gain, and their honeſt frugality ſave. But as the empire daily grew up, ſo the manners and conditions of men decayed, wealth was honoured, and virtue not cared for; neither did any thing ſeem opprobrious out of which there might ariſe commodity and profit, ſo that it could be no marvel in a ſtate thus far degenerated, if when the more ingenuous ſort were become baſe, the baſer laying aſide all ſhame and face of honeſty, did ſome by robberies, burglaries, and proſtitution of their bodies, gather wherewith to redeem liberty; others obtain the ſame at the hands of their lords, by ſerving them as vile inſtruments in thoſe attempts, which had been worthy to be revenged with ten thouſand deaths. A learned, judicious, and polite hiſtorian, having mentioned ſo foul diſorders, giveth his judgment and cenſure of them in this ſort: *Such eye-ſores in the commonwealth have occaſioned many virtuous minds to condemn altogether the cuſtom of granting liberty to any bond-ſlave, foraſmuch as it ſeemed a thing abſurd that a people which commands all the world ſhould conſiſt of ſo vile refuſe. But neither is this the only cuſtom where-*

Dionyſ. Halicar. Rom. Ant. lib. iv. ſect. 169. p. 228. ed. Francofurd.

BOOK V. *in the profitable inventions of former are depraved by latter ages; and for myſelf I am not of their opinion that wiſh the abrogation of ſo groſsly uſed cuſtoms, which abrogation might peradventure be cauſe of greater inconveniences enſuing: but as much as may be, I would rather adviſe that redreſs were ſought through the careful providence of chief rulers and overſeers of the commonwealth, by whom a yearly ſurvey being made of all that are manumiſed, they which ſeem worthy might be taken and divided into tribes with other citizens, the reſt diſperſed into colonies abroad, or otherwiſe diſpoſed of, that the commonwealth might ſuſtain neither harm nor diſgrace by them.* The ways to meet with diſorders growing by abuſe of laws are not ſo intricate and ſecret, eſpecially in our caſe, that men ſhould need either much advertiſement or long time for the ſearch thereof. And if counſel to that purpoſe may ſeem needful, this Church (God be thanked) is not deſtitute of men endued with ripe judgment, whenſoever any ſuch thing ſhall be thought neceſſary. For which end, at this preſent, to propoſe any ſpecial inventions of my own, might argue in a man of my place and calling more preſumption perhaps than wit. I will therefore leave it entire unto graver conſideration, ending now with requeſt only and moſt earneſt ſuit; firſt, that they which give ordination would, as they tender the very honour of Jeſus Chriſt, the ſafety of men, and the endleſs good of their own ſouls, take heed leſt unneceſſarily, and through their default, the Church be found worſe or leſs furniſhed than it might be: ſecondly, that they which by right of patronage have power to preſent unto ſpiritual livings, and may in that reſpect much damnify the Church of God, would, for the eaſe of their own account in that dreadful day, ſomewhat conſider what it is to betray for gain the ſouls which Chriſt hath redeemed with blood, what to violate the ſacred bond of fidelity and ſolemn promiſe given at the firſt to God and his Church by them, from whoſe original intereſt, together with the ſelf-ſame title

title of right, the ſame obligation of duty likewiſe is deſcended: thirdly, that they unto whom the granting of diſpenſations is committed, or which otherwiſe have any ſtroke in the diſpoſition of ſuch preferments as appertain unto learned men, would bethink themſelves what it is to reſpect any thing either above or beſide merit, conſidering how hardly the world taketh it when to men of commendable note and quality there is ſo little reſpect had, or ſo great unto them whoſe deſerts are very mean, that nothing doth ſeem more ſtrange than the one ſort becauſe they are not accounted of, and the other becauſe they are; it being every man's hope and expectation in the Church of God eſpecially, that the only purchaſe of greater rewards ſhould be always greater deſerts, and that nothing ſhould ever be able to plant a thorn where a vine ought to grow: fourthly, that honourable perſonages, and they who by virtue of any principal office in the commonwealth are enabled to qualify a certain number, and make them capable of favours or faculties above others, ſuffer not their names to be abuſed, contrary to the true intent and meaning of wholeſome laws, by men in whom there is nothing notable beſides covetouſneſs and ambition: fifthly, that the graver and wiſer ſort in both univerſities, or whoſoever they be, with whoſe approbation the marks and recognizances of all learning are beſtowed, would think the Apoſtles' caution againſt unadviſed ordinations not impertinent or unneceſſary to be borne in mind, even when they grant thoſe degrees of ſchools, which degrees are not *gratiæ gratis datæ*, kindneſſes beſtowed by way of humanity, but they are *gratiæ gratum facientes*, favours which always imply a teſtimony given to the Church and Commonwealth concerning men's ſufficiency for manners and knowledge; a teſtimony upon the credit whereof ſundry ſtatutes of the realm are built, a teſtimony ſo far available, that nothing is more reſpected for the warrant of divers men's abilities to ſerve in the affairs

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of

BOOK V. of the realm, a teſtimony wherein if they violate that religion wherewith it ought to be always given, and do thereby induce into error ſuch as deem it a thing uncivil to call the credit thereof in queſtion, let them look that God ſhall return back upon their heads, and cauſe them in the ſtate of their own corporations to feel either one way or other the puniſhment of thoſe harms which the Church through their negligence doth ſuſtain in that behalf: finally, and to conclude, that they who enjoy the benefit of any ſpecial indulgence or favour which the laws permit, would as well remember what in duty towards the Church and in conſcience towards God they ought to do, as what they may do by uſing to their own advantage whatſoever they ſee tolerated; no man being ignorant that the cauſe why abſence in ſome caſes hath been yielded unto and in equity thought ſufferable, is the hope of greater fruit through induſtry elſewhere, the reaſon likewiſe wherefore pluralities are allowed unto men of note, a very ſovereign and ſpecial care, that as fathers in the ancient world did declare the preeminence of priority in birth by doubling the worldly portions of their firſt-born, ſo the Church by a courſe not unlike in aſſigning men's rewards might teſtify an eſtimation had proportionably of their virtues, according to the ancient rule Apoſtolic, *They which excel in labour, ought to excel in honour*; and therefore unleſs they anſwer faithfully the expectation of the Church herein, unleſs ſincerely they bend their wits day and night both to ſow becauſe they reap, and to ſow ſo much more abundantly as they reap more abundantly than other men, whereunto by their very acceptance of ſuch benignities they formally bind themſelves, let them be well aſſured that the honey which they eat with fraud ſhall turn in the end into true gall, foraſmuch as laws are the ſacred image of his wiſdom who moſt ſeverely puniſheth thoſe colourable and ſubtle crimes that ſeldom are taken within the walk of human juſtice.

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juſtice [a]. I therefore conclude, that the grounds and maxims of common right whereupon ordinations of miniſters unable to preach, tolerations of abſence from their cures, and the multiplications of their ſpiritual livings are diſproved, do but indefinitely enforce them unlawful, not unlawful univerſally and without exception; that the laws which indefinitely are againſt all theſe things, and the privileges which make for them in certain caſes, are not the one repugnant to the other; that the laws of God and Nature are violated through the effects of abuſed privileges; that neither our ordinations of men unable to make ſermons, nor our diſpenſations for the reſt, can be juſtly proved fruſtrate by virtue of any ſuch ſurmiſed oppoſition between the ſpecial laws of this Church which have permitted, and thoſe general which are alleged to diſprove the ſame; that when privileges by abuſe are grown incommodious, there muſt be redreſs; that for remedy of ſuch evils, there is no neceſſity the Church ſhould abrogate either in whole or in part the ſpecialties before mentioned; and that the moſt to be deſired were a voluntary reformation thereof on all hands which may give paſſage unto any abuſe.

[a] For the main hypotheſis or foundation of theſe concluſions, let that before ſet down in the 9th, be read together with this laſt the 81ſt paragraph.

End of the Second Volume.

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